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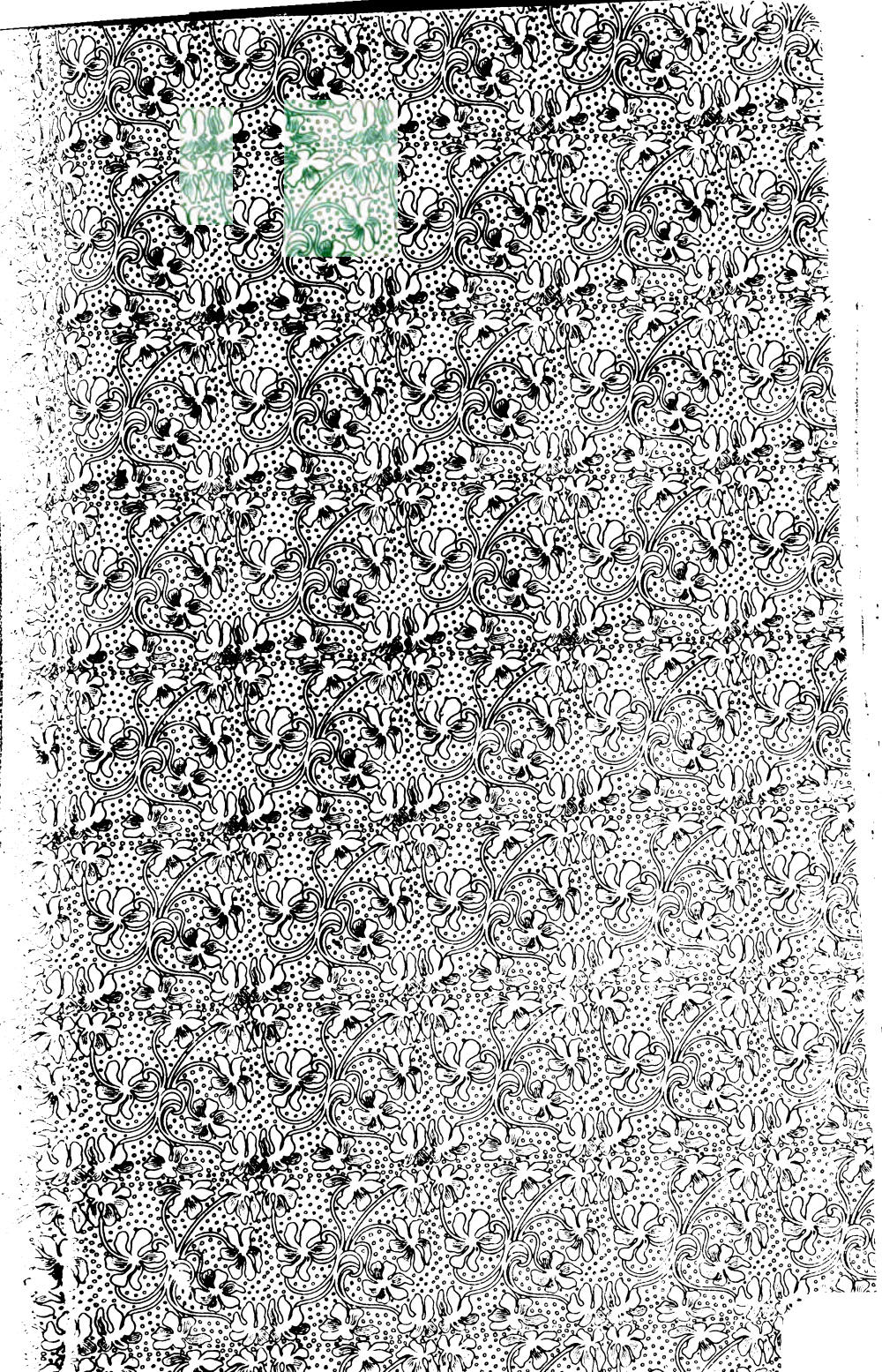

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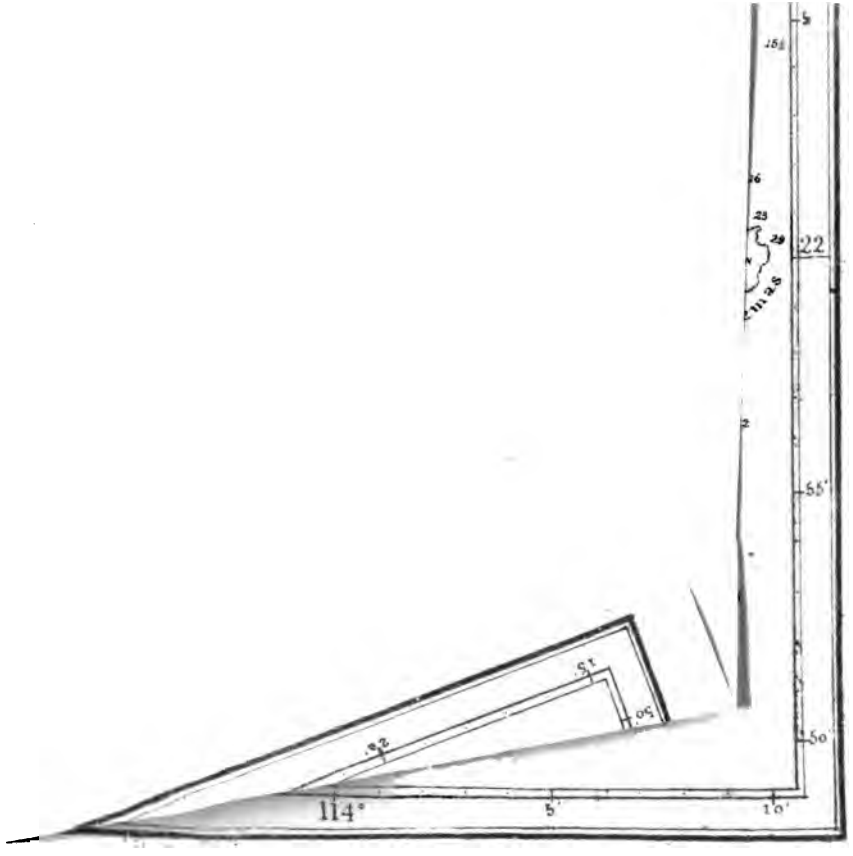
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CHINA.

AN

OUTLINE

OF ITS

GOVERNMENT, LAWS, AND POLICY:

AND OF THE

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EMBASSIES TO,

AND

INTERCOURSE WITH,

THAT EMPIRE.

BY

PETER AUBER,

Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East-India Company.

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CIRCUMSTANCES having directed my attention in the year 1830 to the political branch of the East-India Company's relations with China, various Memoranda were made upon points which it was thought might be useful in the future conduct of the Company's affairs. Events have since taken place which were not then contemplated, and the Company is no longer to bear a commercial character. As the period approaches when the trade with China is to be thrown open, inquiry is made for some definite information regarding the principles upon which the Company's intercourse has been hitherto maintained at Canton, and countenance given to the British trade by the local authorities at that port. The present work has, therefore, amidst little leisure, been thrown together in the form of a connected

outline, shewing also very briefly the nature of the government with which the Company's agents have had to deal, and the attempts which have been made by foreign nations to establish, upon the basis of a formal treaty, a regular intercourse with that singular people.

January 1834.

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CHAP. I.

Fluctuation in Commerce.—Rise of Dutch Republic; their extended Trade.—Policy of Queen Elizabeth.—Establishment of the East-India Company.—The Navigation Laws.—Great Britain supplants Holland in Ships and Commerce.—State of the Currency in connexion with Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce.—Modifications in the Navigation Laws.—Opening of the Trade with India and China.

In this Preliminary Chapter subjects have been introduced which may be thought somewhat irrelevant to the immediate object of the work, which professes to give the outlines of our intercourse with China.

They, however, involve questions so interwoven with each other, and are so connected with the leading and controlling interests of this country, the state of which interests have gradually prepared the way for the great changes relating to our Eastern trade, that a short reference to them may not be altogether misplaced, when new and extended fields of commerce are about to be laid

open to the enterprize and skill of the British merchant and manufacturer.

HISTORY teaches us, that commerce has been, and will continue to be, in perpetual fluctuation, and that careful watchfulness is required on the part of a Government to preserve, as well as to extend, the commercial advantages which may have been acquired through the enterprize and energy of its people. It will be found that there is no country to which this remark will more appropriately apply, or where it has been acted upon to a greater extent, than our own.

Before England possessed foreign colonies and factories, her general trade was comparatively trifling. She derived, in common with other nations, the products of India and China from the ports in the Levant.

The discovery of the East-Indies and Brazil by the Portuguese, and of the West-Indies, Mexico, Peru, and America by the Spaniards, all nearly at the close of the fifteenth, or at the commencement of the sixteenth century, conduced to the extension of European commerce; and the unsuccessful attempts of England, as well as of the Dutch and the Danes,* to discover north-west and north-east passages to China, opened new and considerable sources of traffic, and led to the general increase of navigation.

* In 1553, 1594, and 1595.

The persecutions in Germany, in France, and in England, under Charles the Fifth, Henry the Second, and Queen Mary, produced results diametrically opposite to what were anticipated by those sovereigns, and gave rise to the Seven United Provinces, which rapidly formed one of the greatest commercial and maritime republics that had existed; numbers of their subjects being compelled to seek that shelter and protection under the Prince of Orange which they were denied in their own country. Holland thus acquired the skill, and in many instances capital, of artizans and manufacturers of eminence. The toleration extended to all sorts of quiet and peaceable people, and the free constitution of their Government, tended to create wealth and confidence in a country in itself naturally strong in point of defence; and the institution of the celebrated Bank at Amsterdam presented another inducement to commercial parties to settle in the new republic.

Until the accession of Queen Elizabeth, England had been comparatively little interested in the general affairs of Europe. That princess had encouraged the establishment of the Republic in order to form a barrier against the House of Austria, and her subjects perceiving the advantages which Portugal and Holland derived from the trade with Asia by the Cape of Good Hope, became naturally anxious to participate in so lucrative a traffic. "Neither individual means nor

" enterprize were adequate to the trade of the " Indies; it was so remote, it could not be traded " in but on a joint stock."

The East-India Company were accordingly incorporated, "for the honour of the nation, the " wealth of the people, the encouragement of en- " terprize, the increase of navigation, and the " advancement of lawful traffic."

We may frequently trace the most important results, both as regards nations and individuals, to causes which at the moment were little contemplated by their authors.

The unbridled licentiousness of a sovereign led to the establishment of the Protestant faith in this country; the effects of a religious persecution, for the purpose of upholding and extending the power of the Papacy, gave birth to a state which has been among its strongest opponents; and the necessities of the Crown, occasioned by evil councils and a profligate expenditure,* introduced the sys-

* Previous to the year 1640, the merchants of London lodged their money in the Mint at the Tower as a place of security. The king's inability to meet the Scottish army which was then approaching the borders of England, constrained him to call the Parliament together, which had not been summoned for twelve years, for the purpose of obtaining supplies. These being refused until their grievances were redressed; Parliament was hastily dissolved by the King, who upon some alleged ground, that the City of London had occupied more lands in Ireland than was granted by their charter, forcibly borrowed of the merchants £200,000 of their money then lodged in the Tower. This

tem of banking, which being followed by the navigation laws, mainly contributed to the growth and advancement of our commercial prosperity.

This led the merchants to withdraw their deposits and to place them in the hands of goldsmiths, whose business till then was to buy and sell plate and foreign coins, and to melt and cause them to coin some at the Mint, and with the rest to supply the refiners, plate-makers, and merchants, as they found the price vary. They became lenders to the King, whose wants led him to anticipate the revenue, and who gave orders or letters on the Exchequer for the interest. As the money placed in the hands of the goldsmiths increased, bills of exchange were discounted, and financial means afforded to merchants, and this continued until the year 1672, at which period the court appears to have reached the highest pitch of want and luxury. Parliament was frequently prorogued, lest the two Houses should declare against the councils of the King, whose debts and expenses had exhausted all the supplies; it was still deemed premature to venture on levying money without the consent of Parliament, "since the power of taxing themselves was a privilege of "which the English were very jealous." The King had declared that the office of treasurer was open to any one who could devise an expedient for supplying the present necessities. The proposition of shutting up the Exchequer, and retaining all the payments which should be made into it, was suggested by Sir Thomas Clifford, who was acordingly appointed High Treasurer, and created Baron Clifford of Chudleigh. It had been usual for the bankers to carry their money, or that lodged in their hands, to the Exchequer, and advance it on interest. The measure was adopted so suddenly that no one had warning of the danger; a general confusion prevailed in the city, followed by the ruin of many. The bankers stopped payment, the merchants could not answer their bills, and a stagnation of commerce ensued, by which the public interest was universally affected.

This

The introduction of those laws* was occasioned by the growing power of the Dutch Republic, who supplied freight to the merchants of this country at a rate so much lower than that at which English ships could be procured, that foreign bottoms were used for bringing home the products of our colonies, while our own vessels were rotting in our harbours, and our mariners driven into foreign service. The increasing independence of Holland had led her to treat with indifference, if not with disdain, the appeal of the British Parliament for arrears of tribute due for fishing on the British coasts; for the restoration of the Spice Islands; reparation on account of the cruelties committed in those islands on the English, and for the indignities offered to their ambassador at the Hague.

When she found that these demands were peremptorily insisted upon, and that no goods could be imported from Asia, Africa, or America into this country, but in English ships, under the penalty of forfeiture, nor from any part of Europe except in such vessels as belonged to the people of the country of which the goods were the growth

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This debt was called the Bankers' debt: it amounted to nearly £1,400,000; the principal was never paid, but on the twelfth year of the reign of King William the Third, an arrear of interest was provided for at six per cent., with three per cent. for the future. It ultimately merged into the South Sea Stock, in 1720.

* 1651.

or manufacture, a spirit of hostility was soon evinced, which terminated in an open rupture; and it was not until the Dutch had suffered so severely from the naval victories we obtained over them, as well as from their great loss in merchant vessels, that they were induced to sue for peace, which was concluded in April 1654. The thirteenth article of the treaty provided that the ships of the Dutch, as well ships of war as others, meeting any of the ships of war of the Commonwealth in the British seas, should strike their flag and lower their top-sail.

The spirit of the Navigation Laws was further extended by Charles the Second, and their operation produced so great a change in the state of the shipping and commerce of the country, that in a few years a large portion of the Dutch trade was drawn from them, and we became in a great measure the carriers of Europe.

Amidst these and subsequent events, comprising the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, the Restoration, and the Revolution, the East-India Company surmounted the powerful efforts made by their opponents, both abroad and at home, to annihilate their establishment and subvert their influence, and successfully attained the objects for which they had been incorporated.

In the progress of the trade, the foundation was laid of our present empire in India: in its extension and consolidation, the genius and talents of

some of our most illustrious statesmen and warriors were first developed.

Modifications in the trade with India were introduced in 1793. In 1813 it was thrown open to the public; but the Company still continued to act in the joint character of sovereign and merchant, the exclusive trade with China being continued to them for a further term of twenty years, after the proposition of Mr. Canning to limit the privilege to ten years had been negatived by Parliament.

The state of the Continent in 1813 held out no decided promise of the great events, which in the course of the following year changed so completely the political face of Europe. The Speaker, in alluding to our foreign relations at the close of the session in July of that year, remarked: "In the North we rejoice to see, by the treaties "laid before us, that a strong barrier is erected "against the inordinate ambition of France, and "we presume to hope that the time may now be "arriving, which shall set bounds to her remorse-"less spirit of conquest. The contest with Ame-"rica called upon us to put forth our whole "strength, and maintain with our ancient supe-"riority upon the ocean those maritime rights "which we have resolved never to surrender." "Our reviving commerce," it was added, "looks "forward to those new fields of enterprize which "are opening in the East."

Great Britain had stood from 1793 in a peculiar position towards Continental Europe. The growth of her manufactures, the full employment of her shipping and seamen, the exclusive possession, during the latter part of the term, of the carrying trade, called forth all her energies in an extraordinary degree.

These circumstances, together with the high prices of agricultural produce and labour, and the large amount of the circulating medium consequent upon the Bank Restriction Act, produced a state of apparent national prosperity, which ill fitted us to meet the results consequent upon the return from so long a state of war and excitement to that of general peace.

The effect, however, was not immediately felt, as the extended mart which the altered state of Europe presented, and the absorption of the accumulated produce of our colonies and manufactures, tended to raise permanent expectations, which could have only a momentary realization. Hence, in 1815, commerce was in full activity; a great impulse was given to speculation of all kinds; and the exports of the country were large beyond all precedent. But the period approached when our continental neighbours, instead of any longer seeking in our markets the produce and manufactures which they had hitherto taken off, resumed for themselves the traffic from which they had been so long shut out, and im-

ported, for the employment of their own artisans and manufacturers, foreign produce as well as the raw material, and they became our formidable competitors in the foreign and in some instances in our own markets.

A great accumulation of property took place in this country, for which no demand could be found: prices consequently fell; the issues from the country banks were curtailed; and distress was entailed upon thousands, against which human foresight could not provide.

The claims of the agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, mining, and labouring interests, have since that time been repeatedly brought before both branches of the Legislature, and enforced by the most eloquent and powerful appeals; and measures have been adopted, on reports from Committees, for extending amelioration and relief. There are three subjects more immediately connected with the interests of the country in a commercial point of view, which have been matter of discussion in almost every session of Parliament since the peace of 1814, *viz.* the *Currency, comprising the Banking System;* the *Corn Laws;* and the *Navigation Laws.*

The Bank Restriction Act of 1797 was passed in consequence of the unusual demands for specie, occasioned by the general state of affairs in Europe. In December 1802 an act was passed to continue the restriction imposed by the acts above

mentioned; and, subsequently, until six months after peace should have been concluded. In 1811 the state of the currency was made the subject of parliamentary inquiry: it was then proposed to fix a given standard of the lawful coin of the realm, and to declare that the actual value of the promissory notes of the Bank of England, measuring such value by weight of standard gold or silver, had been for a considerable time, and still was, much less than what was established by law as a legal tender; that the fall of the notes had been occasioned by too abundant an issue by the Bank and country banks, originating in a want of that check which existed before the suspension of cash payments in 1797; that the only adequate security was to advert to the state of foreign exchanges, and to provide against an excess of paper currency; and that to maintain the relative value of the circulating medium, it was necessary to ensure the legal convertibility on demand of all paper currency into the lawful coin of the realm.

The resolutions then submitted were not adopted by Parliament; but the soundness of the views upon which they were based was fully admitted in the discussion which took place in the year 1819, when the bill for the resumption of cash payments at defined periods was passed by Parliament.

On that occasion Mr. Peel, who was chairman

of a Committee of the House of Commons, paid a just tribute to the talents of the late Mr. Horner, who brought the question forward in 1811, and admitted with honourable candour, that the result of investigation had changed his mind, and that his views differed most materially from those he entertained on that occasion.

Twenty-two years had passed without some standard of value being fixed, and a return to a metallic currency was essentially necessary for the security of the country.

The favourite theory of an abstract pound was contended for by those who were opposed to any defined value; but it was humorously observed, that for this purpose they must possess a faculty of imagination equal to that of Crambe, whose pupil Martinus Scriblerus, having seen but one Lord Mayor in his life, and that upon horseback with a furred gown and gold chain, declared his inability to abstract a lord mayor from all these *et ceteras;* upon which Crambe swore that he could frame a conception of a lord mayor, not only without his horse, gown, and gold chain, but even without stature, features, colour, hands, feet, head or body, which he supposed was the abstract idea of a lord mayor.

The true standard of value, so far as regards our own country, has been considered to consist in a definite quantity of gold bullion, and that a certain weight of such gold bullion, with an impression

on it, denoting it to be of that certain weight and of a certain fineness, constitutes the only true, intelligible, and adequate standard of value; and to that standard, it was contended, the country must return, or its difficulties would be greatly aggravated.

The issue of the Bank had increased from twenty-three millions in 1814 to twenty-nine millions in 1817, and that with a large issue also of gold. Many were deceived by a nominal profit, which in reality resolved itself into an excess of currency. The effect was felt by the commercial and manufacturing interests. The importations of cotton into Liverpool in 1816, were 270,000 bales; and in 1818, 457,000 bales. In consequence of the excess beyond the demand, a loss of forty per cent. was stated to have ensued, and was attended by incalculable mischief. The fluctuating demand for labour deranged all the relations of humble life; at one time wages were too high, at another there was no employment; the rapidity of the changes defeated all private engagements, discouraged the steady accumulation of savings, and frequently overwhelmed the labourer with want and misery. The excess of commercial speculation, which led to these evils, resulted from an over-issue of paper currency. Some most interesting historical facts, connected with the measures which had been pursued for effecting a reformation of the coin of this country

from its previous debasement, were particularly adverted to. They are marked by three distinct periods, *viz.* the reigns of Edward the First, of Queen Elizabeth, and of William the Third; each periods of difficulties far greater than any that the country had now to contend against.

EDWARD engaged, in the conquest of Wales, and amidst his efforts to subdue Scotland, persevered in his determination to reform the coin of the realm.

Queen ELIZABETH, on her accession, found the coin had been debased four hundred per cent. in the reigns of her predecessors, Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth. Where there should have been *eleven* ounces there were only *three.* In the second year of her reign, under the advice of her minister Burleigh, she determined to restore the value.

There were not wanting persons who counselled her against such an attempt. She was reminded of the delicate nature of the object, of the distracted state of her dominions, of the rivalry of foreign nations, of Ireland being in a state of approaching rebellion, and Scotland declaring war; and that Rome, Spain, and France, were enemies to her title to the throne. She nevertheless persevered, and the act is commemorated in the monumental inscription upon her tomb, which is thus concluded: "Gallia domata, Bel-" gium sustentum, Pax fundata, Moneta *in justum* " *valorem reducta.*"

WILLIAM THE THIRD had to contend for the stability of his throne, as well as for the existence of the liberties of England and of Europe; but in the midst of his arduous engagements, he determined to recover the ancient value of the coinage.

His Majesty's conduct was adverted to in a subsequent debate, when it was strongly urged to return to a more extended circulation, and to modify the Restriction Act. On that occasion reference was made to the facts recorded in the correspondence between his Majesty and his minister, the Duke of Shrewsbury, published in 1821 by the late Archdeacon Coxe.

The King had arrived at the Hague, from whence he wrote on the 12th May 1696 to the Duke of Shrewsbury, his Secretary of State:

"As I feared, so it has happened: the enemy "has anticipated us by first taking the field; a "most unfortunate circumstance, that may pro- "duce injurious consequences, and occasion our "having a very unsuccessful campaign.

"There are two reasons that have prevented "our armies in Brabant and Flanders from form- "ing sooner. The first, that the Brandenburgh "troops could not be persuaded to march; and "those in Flanders are so much in want of money "that they can scarcely move; and if the trea- "sury do not find prompt means to furnish sup- "plies, I do not know how I can possibly act.

" You will so fully appreciate the importance of " this business, that I am convinced you will use " every exertion, that all that is possible may be " quickly done."

The Duke replied, under date the 15th May :

" Upon the receipt of your Majesty's com- " mands this morning, I engaged the rest of the " Justices to represent the case of the army abroad " to my Lord Godolphin, but found your Ma- " jesty's new letter to him had made him suffi- " ciently sensible of their condition. We dis- " coursed this morning with several of the most " eminent goldsmiths and with some of the Bank, " and had the dismallest accounts from them of " the state of credit in this town, and of the " effects it would soon have upon all the traders " in money, none of them being able to propose " a remedy, except letting the Parliament sit in " June and enacting the clipt money to go again, " the very hopes of which locks up all the gold " and good money, and would be to undo all that " has been done : so that, for my part, it is past " my understanding how we shall avoid infinite " confusion. But I flatter myself your Majesty " and this nation have not been preserved from so " many imminent dangers, to be undone at last " by this accident ; and my dependence for the " present is upon fate, rather than upon reason."

His Majesty acknowledged the same in a letter dated Camp, Altere, July 20th, 1696:—

"The letter from the Lords Justices of the "state has quite overcome me, and I know not "where I am, since at present I see no resource "which can prevent the army from mutiny or "total desertion; for it is more impossible to "find here, than in England, money sufficient for "their subsistence; so that, if you cannot devise "expedients to send contributions, or procure "credit, all is lost, and I must go to the Indies.

"In such great extremities, endeavours must be "made to discover extraordinary remedies. As "to myself, I cannot point out any; but you, who "are on the spot, can form a better judgment. I "am so convinced of your zeal for my service, "that I have no doubt but you will do every thing "that is possible to be done to prevent such fatal "evils, on which depends the good of the nation "as well as of all Europe."

In another letter, dated Camp of Altere, August 6th, 1696, his Majesty wrote to the Duke of Shrewsbury:—

"Your letter of the 21st July, which I received "by the last post, mortifies me not a little, as I "see that you have no hopes of being able in "England to remedy the disorder of the coinage "nor to re-establish credit in sufficient time to "furnish supplies for the continuance of the war "the next year.—If the enemy know our situa- "tion, of which, indeed, they are but too well in- "formed, there can be no hopes of peace."

"May God relieve us from our present embar-
"rassment, for I cannot suppose that it is his will
"to suffer a nation to perish which he has so
"often almost miraculously saved, though we have
"too well deserved it."

Instead of authorizing the re-issue of the clipt money, and "undoing all that had been done," the King, whose life had been one continued struggle, and knowing how to encounter difficulties with unshaken fortitude and a rigid adherence to what he thought right, instead of sending instructions in accordance with such suggestions, sent privately to Lewis the Fourteenth to endeavour to bring about a negotiation for peace, and, coming to England, met his Parliament, and in the speech from the throne urged their attention to the state of the Currency, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed, and the Parliament adopted a resolution, that it would not alter the standard of the gold and silver coins of the realm in fineness, weight, or denomination.

The Act of the 59th Geo. III. cap. 49, for the resumption of cash payments was founded on the resolutions submitted by Mr. Peel, and it received the royal assent on the 2d July 1819.

The subject has since been frequently brought before Parliament. In 1826 the suppression of the circulation of small notes, with the removal of the restriction as to the number of partners in country banks within a given distance of the

metropolis, and the authority of the Bank to establish branch banks, were measures deemed calculated to aid the financial means of the country.

In December 1831, in reply to a question whether it was the intention of the Government to propose any inquiry into the state of the public distress in connection with the change of Currency in 1819, it was stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it was not the intention of his Majesty's Government to make any inquiry as to the expediency of altering the present plan of the Currency, and that after having considered the subject long and attentively, he was perfectly satisfied that it would be utterly impossible to alter the value of our money, without producing an effect on the commerce of the country which, with reference not only to our exchanges with foreign countries but to our domestic affairs, would be in the highest degree mischievous and destructive.

To maintain in their present purity and vigour the important parts of our monetary system, it is necessary to secure the convertibility of all paper into the standard coin of the realm at the will of the holder, and the solvency of banks, by ensuring the necessary funds for carrying on the business of banking, and, at the same time, to guard against the fluctuations in the value of money by preventing capricious and impolitic issues or contractions.

The state of the AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS came under the consideration of Parliament in the early part of 1816. Taxation, the national debt, the extensive paper-circulation, and the pressure of tithes, were the several points pressed upon the attention of the House, and a combination of the whole was stated to have produced the great depression under which the landed interest of the country was then suffering.

In March 1821, a committee was appointed to inquire into the causes of the alleged agricultural distress. They presented their report to the House in June. It contained a summary of the then existing laws, and remarked that, by the salutary law of 1806, a free interchange in grain of every description was established between Great Britain and Ireland, and that the trade in foreign corn was altogether governed by the Provisions of the Act of 54 and 55 Geo. III., by which were for the first time enacted—

FIRST. A constantly free exportation from the United Kingdom, without reference to price, or without such exportation being either encouraged by any bounty or restrained by any duty whatsoever.

SECONDLY. An absolute prohibition against the introduction of every description of foreign grain, meal, or flour, into the consumption of the United Kingdom, when the average prices, ascertained according to the mode established by former acts, are below certain specified rates.

THIRDLY. An unlimited freedom of importation from all parts of the world without any duty whatever, when the prices are above those specified rates.

That the landlord, the tenant, and the consumer have one great and common interest in maintaining a permanent and adequate supply of corn at prices as steady as possible; and that steadiness of price must depend on guarding, as much as legislative interference can guard, against the effects of fluctuation of seasons, were propositions to be taken as the basis of all wise regulations.

The departure from our ancient standard, in proportion as it was prejudicial to all creditors of money and persons dependant on fixed incomes, was a benefit to the active capitals of the country; and it could not be denied that the restoration of that standard had, in its turn, been proportionally disadvantageous to many individuals belonging to the productive classes of the community, and especially to those who had engaged in speculative adventures, either of farming or trade.

In the course of the discussion which took place upon the subject, it was asserted by a gentleman of great authority upon questions of political economy, that a country might be exempted from taxes, and yet suffer more severely from agricultural distress.

It was stated, that the supply had been increasing since 1793, at which period the growth

of corn was alleged to have been below our natural consumption; but the waste of war, the great purchases by Government, the difficulties which a state of hostilities had thrown in the way of foreign supply, by enhancing the price of imported corn, gave the first stimulus to the extension of our cultivation. This was aided by the bad harvests which preceded the stoppage of the Bank in 1797, and by the still more deficient crops which followed in 1799 and 1800. The restriction of cash payments caused a depreciation in the value of money, artificial capital was largely introduced, and led to excess of speculation, and the joint effect of money and credit devoted to bringing barren lands into cultivation,* under the strong recommendation of Parliament, led to the excess of production, as in trade; but the return of capital laid out in land was slower, and a glut in agricultural produce could not find that vent which tended in some degree to relieve the manufacturing interests.

The effect of the Bank Restriction Act was again forcibly pointed out, as having caused a

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* It will be found by the report on the cultivation of waste land in 1795, that the proportion of uncultivated acres was 22,107,101, and of cultivated 51,178,627, making a total extent of 73,285,628 acres of land in England, Wales, and Scotland. This estimate was referred to as giving some general idea "of the magnitude of this great source of *future* wealth."

diminution in the value of money, and superadded to which was a depreciation to the extent of the difference between the standard and the market price. The first caused a rise in the price of all commodities, including the raw produce of the soil; the second led to a still further increase in proportion to the diminution.

Farmers had saved and bought land, of which the fee simple and rent had nearly doubled. The landlords seized every opportunity of adding to the number of their acres; they again were met in the market by the capitalist and land jobber. Tenants took leases at exorbitant rents; the state of the money-market favoured the scheme, and country banks increased their advances.

To remedy the general state of the Corn Laws, which were defective inasmuch as they allowed of a sudden transition from absolute monopoly to unrestrained importation, whilst at the same time it was justly observed that *protection* is not *price*, a graduated scale of duty was fixed in 1822; which provided that foreign corn should be admitted at and after English corn had reached 70*s*.

In February 1826, Mr. Jacob, who had been deputed to the Continent to collect information as to the growth and nature of the commerce in grain, made his Report, which was laid before Parliament in the month of April 1826.

In the discussions which ensued, the intimate

connection between the agricultural and manufacturing interests, was admitted by all parties, as well as the necessity for some permanent settlement.

At the opening of the session in 1827, the greatest anxiety prevailed to know what measures would be proposed for a *permanent system*.

In March, Mr. Canning brought forward his resolutions for a graduated scale, which provided for admission of foreign grain whenever wheat was at 60*s*., and under 61*s*., at a duty of £1. for every quarter; and in respect of every integral shilling by which such price should be above 60*s*. such duty should be decreased by 2*s*., until such price should be 70*s*.; whenever at or above 70*s*. the duty for every quarter 1*s*.

The Bill passed the House of Commons; but an amendment being carried in the Upper House, "that no foreign corn in bond should be taken out "of bond until the average price of corn should "have reached 66*s*.," Ministers abandoned the Bill.

The House was, however, considered to have recognized the principle, that the corn trade ought no longer to be regulated by an exclusive code of laws, and that it should no longer be subject to prohibition, but to a system of duties, whether by fixed or variable duties. If fixed, at what rate, or if varying, how the fluctuations should be regulated, were points, though important, yet of minor

consideration to the principle, that agriculture was to be protected by duties and not by prohibition.

Against this principle it was contended, that there was no possible difference between an exclusion by law and exclusion by duty. If corn was excluded except at high prices, there was no difference between protection which resulted from duties, and those which resulted from law; and it was urged, that there was no principle upon which a fixed protection could be demanded for the landed interest, when all other interests were exposed and left to the casualties of the market. On the other hand, whilst it was admitted that all the interests of the country were bound up and must stand or fall together, yet considering the vast amount of property employed in the cultivation of land, as well as with reference to the other interests of the community, the landed interest calls at all times for the utmost protection and support of Parliament, and that it is impossible to apply to it any rigid abstract principles.

After considerable discussion, the Act for amending the Corn Laws was at length passed on the 15th July 1828, and fixed a duty of £1. 4*s*. 8*d*. per quarter upon foreign wheat, whenever the price should be 63*s*. and under 64*s*., the scale of duty diminishing 1*s*. in duty for every increase of 1*s*. in price, until it reached 67*s*., then by a diminution of 2*s*. till it reached 69*s*., and then by a diminu-

tion of 3*s*. till it reached 71*s*., then 4*s*. till it reached 73*s*., then at 1*s*.

In the following session the subject was brought forward, with the view of substituting a fixed duty on the importation of foreign corn, and a bounty on the exportation of British corn, instead of the graduated scale of duties fixed in the preceding year; and in September 1831 a motion was made, to reconsider the several acts which regulated the importation of foreign grain, but neither propositions were entertained by Parliament.

In May last committees were appointed to inquire into the Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping of the United Kingdom. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that the necessity of investigation had been pressed upon his Majesty's Government from various quarters, and that had such not been the case, he doubted whether he should have been induced to make it; and that, in agreeing to the appointment of the committees, he did not anticipate that any great practical benefit would be derived from the measure.

The report of the Committee on Agriculture was laid before the House in the month of August. The Committee appear to be deeply impressed with the caution necessary in drawing general conclusions, and in offering positive opinions when national interests of such vital importance are concerned; remembering that " the agriculture of the kingdom

is the first of all its concerns, the foundation of all its prosperity in every other matter by which that prosperity is produced."

They contend, that no legislative authority can judge what profit, rent, and wages ought to be; they were matters of convention dictated by the reciprocal convenience of the parties, and silently but surely adjusted by their reciprocal necessities; and in proportion as both rent and wages are excluded from the cognizance and control of the Legislature, it is important that Parliament should watch with jealousy those burthens which are imposed by law on land, and which it is within their competency to revise and modify.

The general condition of the agricultural labourer in full employment is stated to be better now than at any former period, his money-wages giving him greater command over the necessaries and conveniences of life.

It is stated that "the landlords in every part "of the United Kingdom, though in different "degrees, have met the fall of price by a reduc- "tion of rent, except where during the war the "rents on their estates had not been raised, or "where, by a large expenditure of capital, perma- "nent improvements have enriched the nature of "the soil itself."

And again, "where the fixed incumbrances are "heavy, and the family settlements founded on "the war rentals are still in operation, large

" reductions of rent must necessarily occasion " the most serious embarrassments, and the effect " produced has already been an extensive change " of proprietors throughout the kingdom."

Steadiness of price is held to be a primary object, never again to be overlooked, and the Committee remarked, that there had been coincident with the present system of the Corn Laws, a steadiness in the price of corn, of which there has been rarely, if ever, an experience in any former period of equal duration; and as during the same period there has been a very considerable difference in seasons and in the actual amount of corn produced, it is but just to ascribe to the present system a great degree of that steadiness of price which has unquestionably prevailed.

" On the whole it is admitted, that the difficul- " ties are great and the burthens heavy which " oppress the landed interest; but contracts, " prices, and labour, have a strong natural ten- " dency to adjust themselves to the value of money " once established, and it is hoped that the ba- " lance may be restored which will give to farm- " ing capital its fair return."

The hopes of melioration in the condition of the landed interest are stated to rest rather on the cautious forbearance, than on the active interposition of Parliament.

The effects of the NAVIGATION LAWS is the third branch to be noticed.

The altered state of affairs throughout Europe consequent on the peace, were soon felt in the article of freight, which, from the competition through the energies and commercial enterprize of our continental neighbours, had become materially lower.

The question was taken up and discussed when the benefit of registry was proposed in favour of East-India shipping. That measure, it was contended, would materially interfere with the interests of British owners and ship-builders. The objections were met by the argument, that an extended commerce, large capital, and the general advantages which had been so long possessed by us, gave us a superiority with which we might safely and successfully contend against all competitors; but at the same time, justice to ourselves and to others demanded, that in the altered state of things we should no longer act upon the exclusive system, which circumstances had introduced, and continued so long to maintain.

This question was followed at no distant period by a review of our general commercial relations. The subject was introduced into the House of Commons by a petition from the Merchants of London in May 1820, describing in the strongest terms the aggravated state of distress in which the whole of the commercial interests were involved.

It represented, that the extraordinary improvement which they had experienced during war was succeeded by great languor and depression, and that it was absolutely necessary to provide for as great a freedom of trade as was compatible with other important considerations.

In the discussions, the absurdity was pointed out of the attempts which had been made to set up the interests of agriculture against the merchants and manufacturers. As well might it be contended that any one part of the body could be declared useless. The interests of the state must be considered as inseparable. The change of circumstances, and the new position in which we stood towards the whole of Europe, were urged as reasons for a revision of the Navigation Laws, and for opening every source.

The policy and wisdom which led to the enactment of our Navigation Laws were unreservedly acknowledged, and a sense of the great national advantages derived from them, in their effects on the maritime greatness and power of the kingdom, had rendered them objects of attachment and veneration to every British subject; but it was felt, that all restrictions on trade, of whatever nature, is an evil only to be justified by some great political expediency, and that it ought to be removed where it could be done consistently with existing treaties. It was stated that the number of laws affecting commerce amounted to one

thousand five hundred, of which nearly one thousand one hundred were in daily operation.

Various measures had been introduced since the Act of 1813 as to the India trade, by removing the necessity of license, by admitting the circuitous trade, by the relaxation as to tonnage, and other points which materially facilitated that branch of the national commerce. The Committee of the Lords on Foreign Trade in 1821 had pointed out the advantages which might be derived from access to China, or in a modified trade in the article of tea. The East-India Company felt that they had a large responsibility thrown upon them by the Act of 1813, and that the whole of their financial operations mainly depended upon the continued successful prosecution of the China trade, which might be put to hazard by an indiscriminate resort of British subjects to Canton, or by any interference in the tea trade, and they therefore felt compelled with reference as well to their own interests as to those of India, to adhere to the arrangement of 1813.

On the introduction of the Colonial Trade Bill in 1822, the gradual relaxation which had taken place in the application of the Navigation Laws was pointed out. It was then proposed to repeal the enactments which regulated the colonial trade, and to comprize the whole in two laws; the one to regulate the trade between His Majesty's possessions in America and the West-Indies, and other

places in America and the West-Indies; the other between His Majesty's possessions in America and the West-Indies, and other parts of the world, exclusive of America and the West-Indies.

In accordance with the speech from the Throne at the opening of the session in 1825, which adverted to the beneficial effects that had resulted from the removal of the restrictions on foreign commerce, Parliament was recommended to persevere in the removal of similar restrictions. The colonial policy of the country was again brought under consideration. A departure from the early policy recognised by the Navigation Laws was not to be construed as at all condemning the principles upon which they were founded by our ancestors as erroneous; but the circumstances, and the state of the world in which we had to examine colonial interests, had changed, and it was the duty of practical statesmen to deal with the various interests with reference to that change. That in the vast and complex interests of the country, all general theories, however incontrovertible in the abstract, required to be weighed with a calm circumspection, to be directed by a temperate discretion, and to be adapted to all the existing relations of society, with a careful hand, and with a due regard to the establishments and institutions which had grown up under those relations.

The long-established policy of all the European powers possessing colonies in the New World, and

this country among the rest, was that of an entire and rigid exclusion of those colonies from all commercial intercourse except with the mother country; but when the general revolution which had taken place in the system of colonial commerce was considered, with the effects produced upon our own colonies, it was felt absolutely necessary to meet the change by such modifications in our own system as should still be calculated to secure to the United Kingdom the benefits of trade in common with our European and other competitors.

It was therefore proposed to admit a free intercourse between all our colonies and other countries, either in British ships or in the ships of those countries, allowing the latter to import all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of the country to which the ship belongs, and to export from such colonies all articles whatever of their growth, produce, or manufacture, either to the country from which such ship came, or to any other part of the world, the United Kingdom and all its dependencies excepted. All intercourse between the mother country and the colonies, whether direct or circuitous, and all intercourse of the colonies with each other, was to be considered as a coasting trade, to be reserved entirely and absolutely to ourselves. By this arrangement the foundation of our Navigation Laws would be preserved, whilst the Colonies would enjoy a free

trade with foreign countries, without breaking in upon the great principle of those laws in respect to foreign trade, that the cargo must be the produce of the country to which the ship belongs, leaving the national character of the ship to be determined by the rules which apply in like cases in this country. The importation of foreign goods into the Colonies was proposed to be made subject to moderate duties, but such as might be found sufficient for the fair protection of our own productions of the like nature.

An Act founded upon the foregoing principles, and commonly called the "Reciprocity Duties "Act," amending those passed in the 3d and 4th Geo. IV., was passed on the 5th July, for regulating the trade with foreign countries, and imposing certain duties on the importation of foreign goods.

The treaties which had been entered into with the Republics of La Plata and Columbia in 1825, led in the early part of 1826 to further modifications in the Navigation Laws, as respected the admission of those states to trade in foreign bottoms upon the terms of a national marine, their recent state of existence as independent countries having rendered it impossible that they should possess vessels of their own. Objections were urged against the measure, as giving to foreign shipping the means of vitally interfering with the interests of this kingdom, and it was contended that it was another fatal relaxation of the principle

of the Navigation Laws. To this it was replied, that the great principle of those laws, namely, that the shipping of other countries trading to England should be confined to the conveyance of their respective commodities unless on the payment of additional duties, remained the same.

The subject, in connexion with other branches of mercantile interest, was amply discussed in the years 1826 and 1827, and the principles upon which the modifications had been introduced were fully developed in a luminous and comprehensive statement by the President of the Board of Trade, which satisfied the House that a temperate and gradual melioration in every complicated and long settled state of society, is the best preservative against rash and dangerous innovation. The foregoing outline of the legislative measure which had taken place with reference to the three most important branches of the national interest, *viz.* its agriculture, its commerce, and its navigation laws, shews the gradual but certain, nay, almost inevitable progress which was making towards the still further changes that have since, although not perhaps to the whole extent, been made in the system under which our Eastern commerce had been carried on.

It was naturally to be expected under such a change in our colonial system, and in the general recognition of the principles of free trade, that as the period approached when the term for which the exclusive privileges of the East-India Com-

pany would cease, the subject of our commercial relations with the East would be pressed upon the attention of the Legislature.

The policy of revising the duties on Indian produce has been frequently brought before the House of Commons. A Committee was appointed with reference to the Charter in 1830, in accordance with a pledge given by Ministers in the preceding year, for the purpose of inquiring into the affairs of the East-India Company, and into the trade with India and China. The inquiry was prosecuted until the close of the session of 1832, and embraced almost every subject connected with the home and foreign administration, both political and commercial, the results of which have been given to the public.

The particulars of the measures founded on them are too well known to need recapitulation.

The East-India Company under the late Act agree to cease from all commercial operations after April 1834. The China Trade will be then thrown open to the public; and the Company, originally incorporated for the purpose of trade, abandon the character of merchants, and withdraw as competitors in the field of Eastern commerce, but retain the Political Government of India as at present, under the control of a branch of the Executive Government of this country.

A doubt could scarcely be entertained that the China trade would be thrown open; but it may be

questioned whether there is a merchant who walks the Exchange in London, Liverpool, or Glasgow, that contemplated the total cessation of all trade on the part of the Company.

It is needless to speculate upon what might have been the effects of any other arrangement short of the exclusive privilege of the trade with China. It is a strong testimony in favour of the judgment and discretion which have guided the councils of the Company, that amidst changes and events without parallel, they acquired and have preserved for two centuries a commerce which has been so conducted as to ensure the greatest acknowledged benefits both to India and to England, and which the Company have been enabled to place unimpaired in point of value at the disposal of their country.

The open trade with China will be entered upon under circumstances widely differing from those which existed when the trade with India was thrown open. In the latter country the British authority was paramount. Protection as well as redress were extended, or if withheld, were attainable by appeals to the established tribunals at each Presidency. The British trader was met by similarity of manners, language, and habits on the part of his countrymen who had been long settled in India, and through whom he found no difficulty of communication with the natives. The governments were enabled to enforce obedience to the

laws of the Presidency, and to visit, if necessary, with summary penalties those who transgressed them.

As regards China, we resort to a country in which we have not a foot of ground, and where we are confined to one port, at which our permanent residence is doubtful. The habits, manners, and customs are quite foreign to our own. The laws of China have been compared to a collection of consecutive mathematical problems, with this additional circumstance of perplexity, that a just and entire comprehension of each section individually requires a general knowledge of those that follow, no less than those which precede. Such laws are also frequently violated by those who are their administrators and guardians; where their treatment of foreigners is proverbially contemptuous; and in their commercial dealings they have no scruple at imposition, if circumstances favour the practice. Such is the character of the people with whom we seek to maintain an intercourse.

Erroneous as we may think the principles upon which the system of government is based in China; barbarous and ill-digested as we may deem her laws, and earnestly as we may desire to open a more extended intercourse, from motives not merely of commercial gain, but of higher considerations, we must not forget that each nation has a right to be governed as she may think

proper. No State has a right to interfere with another as independent as herself, or to set herself up as a judge of the conduct of the sovereign, or to constrain him to alter such conduct because it may not accord with the views of those who voluntarily resort to his dominions. A nation may permit another to trade with her under such conditions only as she may think proper; and where no treaty exists, nothing prevents her at any time she pleases from withdrawing, restraining, or modifying such permission.

Late events have led to the expression of opinions in favour of a less pacific course of policy towards the Chinese. We cannot in fairness deny to China the right which our own nation exercises as she sees fit, subjecting to certain laws and regulations its commercial dealing with other countries. China has rejected every effort made by us, as well as by almost every other European state, to form a commercial intercourse with her upon those principles which govern commercial relations with other countries.

Great temper and circumspection, combined with firmness and discretion, will be required on the part of his Majesty's superintendents who are to be stationed at Canton for the conduct of the British trade. Partaking of no commercial character themselves, they will stand in a peculiar situation towards the local authorities as well as the British and foreign mercantile community.

The parties who have resided there under the consular flag of any country, have been more or less mixed up with trade, and the denomination of consul has been assumed more for the purpose of legalizing access and residence, when the exclusive privilege, so far as Great Britain was concerned, rested with the East-India Company, the political state of Europe restricting the means of access to China principally, if not entirely, in Company's ships. There is reason to believe that the instructions to the Superintendents have been framed with due precaution; and it is earnestly to be desired that every advantage which has been anticipated from the change may be fully realized.

CHAP. II.

China.—Its religion.—Government.—Laws.—Jealousy of Foreigners.—Independent of Foreign Commerce.—Policy of Government adverse to it.—People not indisposed to it.—Rise and Change in Government.

CHINA is one of the five principal nations who have divided among them the vast Continent of Asia, with the several islands dependent upon it.*

Embraced on two sides by Tartary and India, the ocean separates its other sides from the various islands on its coasts, and those branching out to the North Pacific.

The antiquity of the Chinese Empire has been a question much discussed by parties who have entered into chronological researches; some contending that it is the most ancient in the known world; while others maintain, that the Hindus and CHINESE were originally the same people. That the Hindus have preserved their own language and ritual, and have constantly married among themselves, while the Chinese very soon after their separation lost both, and by a mixture of Tartarian blood, from the time of their first establishment, which is calculated to be about thirteen hundred years before the Christian Era,

* The other four are India, Tartary, Persia, and Arabia.

at length formed a race distinct in appearance both from Indians and Tartars.*

Whatever variety of opinions may exist on the question, there can be little doubt but that China has great claims to antiquity among the various nations of the earth, even if we limit it to the period fixed by those who have opposed its earlier existence.

Their books are described as having been composed of the leaves and inner bark of trees, and of linen; paper not being known in China until one hundred and seventy-six years before the Christian era.

From the silence of their records, as well as those of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Hebrews, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, it has been inferred, that there never was any intercourse or commerce in ancient times between any of them and China, and it is stated that the Chinese Annals make no mention of any of those nations, nor do their histories make any allusion to such people as the Chinese. M. de Guignes,† in his reflections on the intercourse of the Romans with the Tartars and the Chinese, adverts to some facts connected with an embassy despatched by the Roman Em-

* It is stated that the word CHINA is never applied by the learned of that nation to their country, which they designate as *Chum-cue,* or the Central Kingdom.

† M. de Guignes is of opinion that the Chinese are an Egyptian colony formed in 1122, and that their language, or rather letters, are derived from the Phœnicians.

peror Marcus Antoninus, by the way of Egypt, A.D. 161, to the Emperor ONON-TI, who is stated to have received it very coolly.

The great wall of China was built in the reign of CHI-HOANG-TI, about two hundred and thirteen years before Christ. This prince deemed the sciences not only useless but prejudicial to mankind, and rigorously enforced an edict for burning all books, except such as treated of agriculture, physic, and astrology. Du Halde relates that the Emperor VU-TI, who lived one hundred and seventeen years before Christ, commanded the learned men whom he had recalled to his court, to put in order those ancient books which had escaped destruction, that their contents, together with the morals of Confucius, might be taught publicly.

From the foundation of the empire, the Chinese count a succession of nineteen dynasties or families to the imperial dignity, till CHI-TSOW, the son of CHENGIZ KHAN,* Emperor of the Mongul Tartars, ascended the throne of China by conquest in the year 1280. The design of the vast canal which runs through the whole empire from north to south is ascribed to CHI-TSOW.

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* The celebrated Tartar chief Chengiz Khan, whose name was Temurgui, assumed the designation of Khakhan, or emperor, in 1205, and at his death in 1226 he had subdued the whole of Tartary and Persia. His dominions extended from the Indus to the Euxine, from the banks of the Volga to the distant plains of China, and from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the wastes of Siberia.—*Malcolm's Persia,* vol. i.

The MONGOLS reigned until the year 1368, when a Chinese family drove them from the throne, and from that period till the year 1644 China was ruled by Native Emperors.

In the latter year the Emperor, TSONG-CHING, reduced to despair by the successful rebellion of one of his chief mandarins, destroyed himself.*

A Chinese general made head against the usurper, but having unfortunately called into his aid the Manchew Tartars, headed by their monarch TSONG-TE, the latter before his death declared his infant son Emperor of China, and the new succession was submitted to as a matter of necessity, from which period the Tartars have continued to rule over that empire.

It has been alleged, but upon very questionable data, that the ancient Chinese were free from idolatry, and that it was not until a considerable period after the death of their great philosopher Confucius,† four hundred and seventy-nine years before Christ, that idolatry and demon-worship was introduced into the empire. The following opinions are stated to have been enter-

* Extract letter from the Company's agent at Batavia in 1655:—"China is wholly embroiled in wars. One of the chief Mandarins being risen in rebellion, is grown so powerful that he possesseth a great part of the kingdom, and is likely to be owner of it, the king, after he had slain his wife and two of his children, having hanged himself for fear of falling into the hands of the rebel."

† Confucius was born 551 years before Christ, and was a contemporary with Pythagoras.

tained by Confucius respecting God. That He was the supreme *Truth* and *Reason*, or the fountain from whence truth and reason were derived and communicated to men: that his intelligence comprehended both his own nature and that of all other things and beings, and therefore that he foreknew all things that were future: that he was the original and ultimate end of all things, eternal, infinite, immovable, who produced and sustained all things: that he is one supremely holy, supremely intelligent, and invisible.

Having discoursed of the perfection of reason and virtue, Confucius uses these remarkable words: "We must await for the coming of this "*perfectly holy man*, and then we may hope that "having such a guide and teacher, virtue which "is of such an excellent nature will be brought "into practice and be performed by men." According to a tradition universally received amongst the Chinese, Confucius was often heard to say that in the *West* the *Holy One* will appear.

Upon this passage Dr. Jackson, the learned author of Jewish Antiquities, remarks: "These "expressions seem to be presages which Confu-"cius had concerning the coming of *Christ*, the "*Holy One of God*, to deliver to mankind a per-"fect rule of religion and virtue; and his saying "that its appearance would be in the West, seemed "to point to Judæa, the most western country of "Asia in respect to China."

The abominable worship of the idol or pagod Foe was brought into China in the sixty-fifth year of the Christian Era,* and has prevailed to this day, as also amongst the Tartars, Siamese, and Japanese. The priests of Foe are called by the Chinese *Ho Chang*, by the Tartars *Lamas*, by the Siamese *Talopians*, by the Japanese *Bonzes*.

It appears from an inscription in Syriac letters upon a block of stone found in the province of Chen-se A. D. 1625, that the Christian religion, in memory of which it was erected, was first introduced into China in the year 635 by bishops and priests from India, who were sent to propagate Christianity in foreign parts. They were Syrians and Nestorians. It continued to spread till about the middle of the ninth century, during which period it extended through many provinces, and several Christian churches were built. How long it maintained its ground is uncertain. It is stated that there was not any appearance of it when Francis Xavier, the Jesuit missionary, landed in China in 1552.

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* Sir William Jones and Mr. Faber both think it was only a modification of Buddhism, which had long prevailed in China, the Bhudda of the Hindoos being the Foe of China. Another system of idolatry is stated to have existed before that of Foe, *viz.* the sect of Tao-Ssee. The morality of that philosopher was Epicurean. They are addicted to magic, and are persuaded that by the assistance of demons they can succeed in their desires.

The following extract of a letter from the East-India Company's servants at Bantam, dated in 1617, may refer to the impression created by the declaration of CONFUCIUS. "No Chinese dare translate and send those letters,* it being death by the laws of their country to give passage to any Christian who shall carry them, neither is there any security to send otherwise thither. It was revealed by oracle unto the emperor, that his country should be subdued by a grey-haired people, and do therefore forbid all Christians his country."

"Whenever," observes Dr. Jackson, "God shall raise up preachers of *true* Christianity amongst the people of China, they may be led to see and be convinced that Christ is the Holy One, and that Divine teacher whom their own prophet, so many ages before had taught them to expect, and this may be a means of their conversion to the Christian faith."

Most of the parties whose residence has been tolerated at Pekin have, with one or two exceptions, been missionaries of the Romish Church, including amongst the various orders that of the Jesuits.—Their object was to propagate the Roman Catholic faith. The means they took were not open and direct, but covert and disguised. They gained the patronage of the Emperor, not through their spiritual merits, but from their knowledge of the

* Letters from King James to the Emperor desiring the privilege of trade.

arts and sciences,—as painters, mechanics, turners, watchmakers, founders, accountants, and astronomers; and the Jesuit missionaries were created mandarins, and appeared at court in the Chinese costume. In the course of time their true object was developed, and attempts were even made to induce the Emperor to embrace the Romish religion; they experienced more or less countenance and support until the year 1720, when M. Mizabarba, as the Pope's Legate, arrived in China.

On reaching Canton he was questioned as to the object of his visit; when he stated that his desire was to exercise the functions of superior of the missions in China, and to beg that orders might be given to the mandarins in no wise to molest either the churches or missionaries. After arriving near Pekin, the purport of the Pope's brief was communicated to the Emperor: who finding that it interfered with the laws and usages of China, sent a message to the legate, stating that, having resolved never to receive a constitution contrary to the irrevocable laws of China, he and all the missionaries were ordered to return to Europe.

In the course of the subsequent conferences the following question was put to the legate: "Who "is the Pope? The Pope commands! Pray "who is he that he should take upon himself to com- "mand? He dare not send his orders either to "the English or the Dutch, and yet he presumes "to subject China to his will?"

On one occasion the Emperor stated the desire which he had entertained to reconcile all the missionaries, "that they might have no more "than one heart; but it had no effect. One calls "himself a clergyman, another a Franciscan, a "third a Dominican, and the fourth a Jesuit, which "irreconcileable disunion surprises me much."

The legate returned to Canton, and embarked from thence at the beginning of 1722.*

YONG-CHI having succeeded to the throne, and being impressed with the belief that the missionaries sought to extend their power, subvert the throne, and disturb the peace and tranquillity of the empire, they were banished to Canton by an order, dated in February 1723, and their churches, computed at about three hundred, were either destroyed or converted to other uses.

It is impossible to anticipate what effects may be produced among the Chinese by the late changes, but to a recent date their government was decidedly opposed to the promulgation of any thing like Christian doctrines.

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* "We find here a great mandarin, an immediate express from the emperor, whose coming into these parts was to accompany a patriarch named *Mizabarba*, who came last year from Rome, and has been at the Court of Pekin, and returned to Macao in order to proceed to Lisbon. This mandarin having finished his errand, is waiting the arrival of the Europe ships to procure rarities for the Emperor."—*Canton Diary, 25th July* 1721.

In the year 1805, a native of the province of Canton having received privately a map and sundry letters from a European missionary, who had been resident many years at Pekin, was tried, and found guilty, with several others, who had been teaching and disseminating the doctrines of the Christian religion. An edict was issued, declaring that Europeans who adhere to the Christian faith act conformably to the customs established in their countries, and that they are not prohibited from doing so by the laws of China, and that the missionary had been engaged at Pekin in the establishments originally formed with a view of adopting the western method in the Chinese astronomical calculations. "Europeans "of every nation who have been desirous of "studying and practising the same at this court "have readily been permitted to come and reside "in the above establishments, but from the begin- "ning they were restricted from maintaining in- "tercourse with, and exciting troubles among our "native subjects."

The books of the Christian religion were stated to have been hitherto written in English, and therefore incapable of influencing the minds of the Chinese, because not understood by them; but having been circulated by the missionaries and by natives, both male and female, in the Chinese language, and some soldiers being among the former, their names were ordered to be erased

from the lists of those serving under the banner of the Chinese empire, and with all the other parties were banished, as slaves, to Elee. The books without exception were ordered to be burnt, together with the blocks from which the impressions had been taken.

In another edict, issued in the same year, some European residents at Pekin had been discovered to have corresponded with the Tartars, and to have pointed out the doctrines of the Christian religion. Part of the works which they had disseminated were cited in the edict, and published for general information. *The Tartars were admonished to attend for the future to their own language, to practise riding and archery, to study the works of the learned and virtuous, and to observe social duties. It was remarked, if the sects of Foe and Tao-tse are unworthy of belief, how much more so is that of Europeans!**

In the year 1815 a severe persecution was carried on against the Roman Catholics in China.

The GOVERNMENT OF CHINA is despotic. The power of the Emperor is a despotism founded upon law and custom, if not expressed, yet fully implied.

It has been justly remarked that the constant effects of *despotism* (from which China is in no way exempt) is the benumbing and debasing all those faculties which distinguish men from

* Vide Appendix to the Laws of China, page 532.

the herd that grazes, and to that cause may be imputed the decided inferiority of most Asiatic nations, ancient and modern, to those of Europe who are blest with happier governments. And as no unmixed form of government could both deserve permanence and enjoy it, the *British* Constitution (that is, the public law, not the actual state of things at *any given period*) is the best form established, though we can only make distant approaches to its theoretical perfection.*

The vital and universally operating principle in China, is the duty of submission to parental authority, whether vested in the parents themselves or in their representatives, and which, although usually described under the appellation of filial piety, is much more properly to be considered as a general rule of action, than as the expression of any particular sentiment of affection. It may easily be traced even in the earliest of their records, and in the writings of the first of their philosophers and legislators. The doctrine of Confucius strongly inculcated this principle. He taught kings and princes to be fathers to their subjects and to love them as their children, and he taught subjects to reverence and obey their kings and governors with the honour and affection due to parents. This principle has survived each successive dynasty and all the various changes and revolutions which the state

* Sir Wm. Jones, on Asiatic History, civil and national.

has undergone; and it continues to this day powerfully enforced, both by positive laws and by public opinion. The emperor is looked upon as the father of the empire; the viceroy, of the province over which he presides; and the mandarin, of the city over which he is placed.

A government constituted upon a basis so highly estimated and extensively applied, has the advantage of being directly sanctioned by the immutable and ever operating laws of nature, and acquires a degree of firmness and durability to which governments founded on the fortuitous superiority of particular individuals, either in strength or abilities, can never be expected to attain. By such principles the Chinese have been distinguished since their first existence as a nation; by such ties the vast and increasing population of China is still united as one people, subject to one supreme government, and uniform in its habits, manners, and language.

The administration of the civil government at Pekin is precisely defined, and is carried on under the orders of the emperor by the several mandarins attached to the following tribunals.

For the government of the people—superintendence of tribute—maintenance and customs of the rights of the empire—care of the troops—of the posts in the great roads, which are made at the emperor's expense—determining all criminal causes—inspection of all public works.

The kingdom is divided into eighteen provinces. Each province is governed by a viceroy (Tsong-tao or Isontock), a sub-viceroy (Foo-yuen), or by two such having concurrent jurisdiction. Every province is again subdivided into districts, under the government of the magistrates of the several cities of the first order, and then again into others of inferior power and extent.

The penal code of China is considered by the distinguished translator of the "*Ta Tsing-leu-lee*,"* to afford a more compendious and satisfactory illustration than any other Chinese work that could have been selected, of the peculiar system and constitution of the government, the principles of its internal policy, its connection with the national habits and character, and its influence upon the general state and condition of the people of that country.

Those laws were revised under the Tartar dynasty, which succeeded to the throne of China in 1644, and formed into a code upon which their administrators could build a just and equitable decision.

They are separated into seven divisions, under the following heads:

1. *General Laws*,
2. *Civil*,

relating to the system of government and the conduct of the magistrates.

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* The Fundamental Laws and Penal Code of China, by Sir George Staunton, Bart.

3. *Fiscal,*

relating to the enrolment of the people, lands, and tenements; marriages; public property; duties and customs; private property; sales and markets.

4. *Ritual,*

relating to sacred rites; miscellaneous observances.

5. *Military,*

relating to protection of the palace; government of the army; protection of the frontier; military horses and cattle; express, and public posts.

6. *Criminal Laws,*

relating to robbery and theft; homicide; quarrelling and fighting; abusive language; indictments and information; bribery and corruption; forgeries and frauds; incest and adultery; miscellaneous offences; arrests and escapes; imprisonment, judgment, and execution.

7. *Laws relative to Public Works,*

public buildings; public ways.

These laws do not appear to have been hastily or inconsiderately framed, as they have produced throughout so large and so populous an empire great comparative order and tranquillity.

The internal regulations of the government for the preservation of peace and subordination, enter with great minuteness into the duties of the

respective parties, who are responsible for seeing them promptly acted upon and enforced.

Every city is divided into wards, and every ward has a principal, who takes care of a certain number of houses. He is answerable for every thing that happens, and if there should chance to be any tumult that the mandarin is not immediately informed of, he is severely punished. Masters of families are equally responsible for the conduct of their children and servants, and those in authority are reckoned culpable when their inferiors, who should pay them obedience and reverence, have committed any criminal act.

It is one of their principal maxims, and which they believe contributes most to good government, not to suffer foreigners to settle in the empire;* for besides their contempt for other nations, whom they look upon as barbarous, they are persuaded that a difference of people would introduce among them a diversity of manners and customs, which by little and little would bring on personal quarrels, and these would end in parties, and proceed to rebellions fatal to the tranquillity of their empire.

This ancient feeling is represented to have been

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* The houses occupied by the Company's supracargoes were the property of the hong merchants. No lease could be obtained of them, nor could the Company procure any ground upon which they might build new factories after the fire in 1824, it being contrary to Chinese law that foreigners should hold land, or leases of land or houses.

considerably strengthened by the knowledge of our successes in Nepaul, as well as of the origin and progress of our power in India,

That enterprizing traveller, Lieutenant Burns, of the Bombay establishment, states, that the same vigilance to prevent the ingress of foreigners as at the sea-coast is observed on the frontiers. An intercourse is maintained with Pekin, Bokhara, and Thibet, through the Chinese province of Yarkund. The journey of caravans from Pekin to the most western frontiers is stated to occupy five months, but an express takes only thirty-five days. It has been performed in twenty, and even in fifteen days, by horsemen, who are changed every ten miles, avoiding all converse with each other.*

The lowest officer under the government in the several provinces throughout the empire, incurs the greatest share of the responsibility; but this

* Lieutenant Burns has been engaged in exploring the countries between India and the Caspian, together with the rivers Indus and Oxus and the Aral Sea, and has recently returned to England, bringing with him ample memoirs, including geographical and statistical accounts.

Some portion, relative to the navigation of the Indus, has already appeared in the Proceedings of the Geographical Society; but there is great reason to hope that some further accounts of his travels will be published by himself. His route comprized regions the history of which presents matter of much interest, when viewed in connexion with the destinies which have befallen the inhabitants, with whose former rulers sovereigns and pontiffs sought intercourse by embassies from Europe.

being confined to offences by implication only, it will not appear so extraordinary, that when the measures or decisions of a Board or tribunal are found to be reprehensible, without any offence being directly imputable to a particular individual, that member of the tribunal should be subjected to the largest share of the punishment by whose suggestion and instrumentality the business had been conducted, and whose inferior station might be supposed to have enabled him to gain a more accurate knowledge of the circumstances upon which the justice or injustice of the decision depended, than was likely to have been in the power of his superiors.

The indisposition of the Chinese government to admit of the unrestricted intercourse of foreigners, renders them in a great measure independent of foreign trade, and of the necessity of seeking resources through commercial dealings. This is corroborated by the testimony of eye-witnesses who have either resided at Pekin or elsewhere in China, or have had opportunities of travelling through the country from the capital to Canton.

A.D.1656. "MANY years are past, since several Europeans, especially the English, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Hollanders, have with indefatigable endeavours persevered towards the acquiring a free and unmolested trade in China; yet though they have variously attempted what might seem probable to

this effect, their whole undertakings have proved little better than a labour in vain; for the Chinese, finding themselves in the subsistence of their own product, and too strictly observing an ancient law prohibiting the admission of any strangers into their country (excepting such only as bringing tributes from the adjacent borders, paid homage to their emperor as supreme lord of the world, or else foreign ambassadors, under which pretence many drove there a subtle trade), have shut out and abhorred all correspondence abroad."*

"As the inhabitants find within themselves A.D.1736. every thing necessary for the convenience and delight of life, so, wanting no foreign assistance, they have always affected a shyness to the commerce of strangers. Their ignorance of distant countries flattered them with the fond persuasion that they were masters of the whole world; that they inhabited the greatest part of it, and that whatever was not China was barbarous; which prejudice joined to the natural stolidity of the people, has without doubt very much contributed to the constant uniformity of their manners."†

"THE cautious government of China, aware, A.D.1703. indeed, of the avidity with which the notions of

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* Ogilby on Foreign Embassies to China, published 1656.

† Du Halde, who had resided ten years at Pekin as a missionary, 1736.

equality might be adopted, particularly by young minds in the lower conditions of life, most likely to be inflamed by such a flattering and new light, began early to take precautions against their introduction. Hitherto the great basis of the safety and tranquillity of the empire has been the patriarchal system, which has continued to be followed to this time in China.

" The Chinese are perhaps, upon an average, better able to support moderate labour with little intermission than many of the lower classes in Europe; they are bred in better and sounder habits, and continue longer under the direction of their parents.

" A land-tax to government has been substituted in the last reign for a poll-tax, as better proportioned to the faculties of individuals. Most imports and all luxuries are likewise taxed; but the duty being added to the original price of the article, is seldom distinguished from it by the consumer. A transit-duty is likewise laid on goods passing from one province to another. Each province in China, which may be compared to an European kingdom, is noted chiefly for the production of some particular article, the conveyance of which to supply the demand for it in others, raises this duty to a considerable sum, and forms the great internal commerce of the empire. Presents from the tributaries and subjects of the emperor, and the confiscations of opulent criminals, are not over-

looked in enumerating the resources of the public treasury. Taxes, such as upon rice, are received in kind. The several species of grain, on which many of the poorer classes of the people principally subsist, are exempted from taxation; so is wheat, to which rice is always preferred by the Chinese."*

The Chinese appear to have brought agriculture to great perfection.

" Each province, and even each city, has particular works upon agriculture, with precepts concerning every thing necessary to be observed by the husbandman throughout the extent of their district. That these books are kept as sacred things, and deposited in the hands of commandants or governors of cities, who are not permitted to entrust them to any one; and that, consequently, it is in vain to think of procuring them, because they are not to be sold. The mandarins of the cities are bound to give to the individuals within their district all the information that the latter ask for, which seldom happens, because a knowledge of agriculture, held in esteem for several centuries past, has been transmitted from generation to generation, from father to son, with every particular of both theory and practice. This has rendered the science so general, that it is scarcely possible for any one to stand in need of further instruction."† A.D.1795.

* Lord Macartney's Embassy, 1793.

† Dutch Embassy, by Van Braam, 1795.

"The variety of soil and climate which China comprehends, its fertility and productiveness, are equally well known. Under such circumstances, the Chinese were neither necessitated by want, nor tempted by curiosity, to cross those barriers of sea and land, to which they owed so much of their internal security and prosperity. Having no natural enemies to contend with, they soon lost that warlike character which their primitive ancestors might have possessed in the wilds of Tartary. The art of navigating ships at a distance from land, and the adventurous pursuits of trade with foreign nations being wholly unnecessary to them, they generally despised as well as neglected.

"With little opportunity of becoming generally acquainted with the state of the rest of the inhabited world, and with the unfavourable and uninviting specimen of it which the wretchedness and barbarism of their immediate neighbours presented, it was almost impossible that they should not look back with peculiar complacency upon their own undisputed superiority, and gradually acquire much of that high degree of national vanity and arrogance for which they are remarkable.

"Thus the Chinese, although they certainly became at a very early period a rich, populous, and comparatively, an enlightened nation, have not been at any time enterprizing, warlike, or commercial, and therefore have been, in fact, deficient in those qualities which, of all others, are the

most conducive to the extension of the fame of any people amongst distant countries."*

"THE foreign relations of China are probably more confined than those of any other country of the same extent to be met with in the history of the world. Domestic manners and daily habits are so intimately interwoven with the frame of Chinese polity, that the principle rigidly maintained by the government of discouraging intercourse with foreigners is neither so unreasonable nor so unnecessary as might at first sight be imagined. This great empire is no doubt held together by the force of moral similarity produced by a series of minute observances, levelling both the better energies and the evil passions of the people to a standard of unnatural uniformity—the improvement or vitiation that might result from unrestricted communication with other nations would be equally fatal to the stability of such a system, and are consequently natural objects of jealousy to the government."† A.D.1817.

The revenues of the State are said to amount to £66,000,000 per annum, of which the foreign trade forms only the small portion of £650,000, and of that but little reaches the Imperial Treasury.

The people are remarkable for industry and perseverance: they are largely engaged in the manufacture of cotton goods; and although the

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* Preface to Laws of China. † Mr. Ellis, 1817.

cotton shrub has been long cultivated in China, the extent of their consumption obliges them to import much of the raw material. It is the raw produce generally which meets with the best market in China.

The Chinese, more particularly the inhabitants on the coasts, are disposed to cultivate foreign commerce; but they are at the same time quite alive to what is likely in the progress of that commerce to interfere with their own interests. This was evinced in 1831, when the exportation of cotton twist from England had been so greatly extended. The supracargoes informed the Court of Directors—"In two districts in the immediate vicinity of Canton, and in another about twenty miles distant from it, very serious commotions have taken place among the natives at the introduction of cotton yarn. They loudly complain that it has deprived their women and children, who had previously been employed in the spinning of thread, of the means of subsistence. They have resolved not to employ the cotton yarn in the looms and have expressed their determination to burn any of it which may be brought to their villages. These districts are very populous, and the people, as is generally the case in China, industrious.—While this is a proof of the triumph of English machinery, it is at the same time an indication that its success is calculated to create the same sensation of discontent among the working classes there

as in other manufacturing countries. We do not learn that the officers of government have as yet taken any notice of these disturbances. Should they endeavour by high or prohibitory duties to check the importation of cotton yarn, we believe that it would only be followed by a further extension of the smuggling trade."

Internal policy of government.

The principle of the Chinese government is to preserve the internal policy which it has enforced, time immemorial, on the observance of its numerous population.* The evidence before the Parliamentary Committee in 1830, fully corroborates the statements which have been already given as to the anti-commercial disposition of that government, and shew that China, more than any other country in the world, is independent of foreign commerce, possessing nearly every variety of climate, and having the necessaries and luxuries of life supplied by successful agriculture and extensive inland traffic.†

* Various statements have been given of the population of China, some stating it at 300,000,000, others at 150,000,000. The latter is believed to be nearer the truth than the former number.

† "The Chinese have not, in a manner, any trade with the Indies, excepting some small dealings they may have on the frontiers of the neighbouring states. But it was impossible for me to get to the knowledge of what those trades consisted in: for among a thousand people of the inhabitants of Pekin, it is rare to find one person who hath the least knowledge of anything that passes without its gates. It is true that the Chinese

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Abbé Raynal.

The Abbé Raynal, speaking of the trade between Europe and China, says:

"Though the Chinese are so fond of money, they seem more inclined to shut the ports against the Europeans than to encourage them to extend their trade. As the spirit of the Tartars has subsided, and the conquerors have imbibed the maxims of the vanquished nation, they have adopted their prejudices, and in particular their aversion and contempt of foreigners. They have discovered these dispositions by the humiliating hardships they have imposed upon them, after having treated them with great respect."

There is nothing of which the government has a greater apprehension than popular tumults, and this is one of the reasons which have operated in inducing it to overlook reports from the local authorities, rather than expose the real weakness of its power by ineffectually attempting to enforce the observance of its laws and edicts.

Reports. Messrs. Lindsay and Gutzlaff.

Extracts might be abundantly supplied from the interesting reports by Mr. Lindsay and the Rev.

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do carry on trade, sometimes at Bengal, to the Philippine Islands, to Batavia, and even to Goa: but that is not brought about but by stealth, by the connivance of the mandarin governors of the seaports, obtained by means of a round sum of money, without the knowledge of the Court: besides it is absolutely forbid to every subject of the empire to go into foreign parts, upon what occasion soever, without a permission or an order from the emperor or the government."—*De Lange's Journal.*

Mr. Gutzlaff, of the result of their voyage in the ship *Amherst*, to the north-east coast of China in 1832,* in confirmation of what has been already stated as to the character and disposition of the government.

As a people, they have continued as unvarying in their habits, manners, and customs, as the government has been in its policy. We may smile at peacocks' feathers, pearl buttons, and yellow satin still continuing to be their distinguishing badges of royalty and of royal favour, but the dignitaries of the Celestial Empire may look with equal contempt upon those marks of honourable distinction so highly prized in European courts, in the designation of which all the letters of the alphabet have been nearly exhausted.†

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* These reports have been printed both by Parliament and by the East-India Company.

† It is well known that the military and civil officers of the Chinese government wear upon their caps, as distinctive marks, buttons of different colours, according to the rank which they hold. A red or coral button is appropriated to a general; a transparent blue one, to a colonel, &c. The cap of the emperor is adorned with a pearl of great value. But independently of these buttons, the *phou tsa* are also marks of distinction. They are little square pieces of satin, sewed on the breast and back of the upper garment. The *phou tsa* of the civil mandarins has a bird embroidered upon it; that of the military mandarins a wild beast. A military officer of the second rank, or a general, has a lion; a civil mandarin of the

Formosa. The island of FORMOSA lies off the coast of Fukeen, at the distance of about sixty miles. Its length is ninety leagues, its breadth about thirty. It is fertile, producing grain and fruit, with which a considerable part of the population on the coast of China are supplied.

Corea. The peninsula of COREA is of an oblong form, about 100 leagues in breadth; its greatest length extends 180. It lies between the kingdoms of Chinese Tartary and Japan, by each of whom the Coreans have at different times been subdued. Since the conquest of China by the Tartars, Corea sends ambassadors annually to Pekin, and has enjoyed comparative tranquillity. Their government and laws resemble those of China. Cottons and calicoes are the principal productions of Corea. The traders from that country come every year to Pekin with the ambassadors of their king, and bring cotton and silk, both raw and manufactured, writing-paper as coarse as linen, tobacco, and horses. What the Chinese most esteem are the cotton manufacture called Corean daba, the writing-paper, and the horses, on account of their very small size and their strength. They take in exchange silks of superior quality, metal goods, porcelain, &c. The govern-

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third rank (analogous to that of a counsellor of state in Russia), a peacock, &c. The robes with these *phou tsas* are worn only at court or on solemn occasions, when they wear besides rosaries which come down to the girdle.

ment of Pekin are said to entertain apprehensions that sooner or later, the Coreans may join with the Russians against China. That the Chinese are both jealous and apprehensive of Russia is apparent, by a note in the account of the embassy to Pekin in 1720, noticed in the following chapter, and in that of the British intercourse with China, in the fifth chapter of this volume, in the year 1771.

JAPAN stands in the same independent position towards the continent of Asia as Great Britain does towards that of Europe. Japan.

During the period that the island of Java was under British rule, the late Sir Stamford Raffles projected the establishment of a regular intercourse with Japan.* Some important suggestions were

* "The most valuable furniture of lacquered ware, *viz.* cabinets, chairs, tables, baskets, and other things of that sort, as also the richest porcelain-ware, come from Japan. For when the emperor sends any person to Japan in a public character, most of the princes and great men of the court seldom fail to engage him to bring them some of those things at his return. Sometimes they find means to bring these things into China clandestinely, but that is very seldom. This is the reason that the commodities of Japan are not always to be had at Pekin, unless a man would pay an exorbitant price; nevertheless they are found there sometimes reasonable enough, because seldom a year passes that the emperor doth not amerce some or other of the great lords in very considerable fines, which obliges them to raise all the money they can on their moveables and immoveables: and whoever hath money lyeing by him doth, on these occasions, lay it out to great advantage, and buy the most curious and valuable things for little money."

thrown out for its accomplishment; but the uncertainty of our tenure in Java, and its ultimate restoration to Holland in 1814, put a stop to the measure.

"The Japanese are acquainted with the English, but they have only become acquainted with them from the Portuguese and the Dutch, both of whom were interested in engrossing the Japan trade, and have therefore taken care to prepossess the Japanese in the strongest manner against the English. Indeed when Captain Pellew visited Nangasaki, about three years ago, though he might have plundered the Dutch factory had it contained anything valuable, he found that the Japanese would listen to no overtures of intercourse. About the same time they rejected with equal steadiness the Russian embassy, dispatched directly to Japan, refusing equally to admit of any overtures on the part of the Russians, and to accept of the valuable presents brought by the ambassador. The same fate has attended some late attempts of the Americans to establish an intercourse with Japan." *

* Sir Stamford Raffles to the late Earl Minto, 10th June 1811.

CHAP. III.

Missions to China.—From Khorassan.—The Pope.—France.—Venice.—Portugal.—Holland.—Russia.—*From* China to the Tartars—Russia and Persia.—Treaty between Russia and China.—Settlement of Russian Students at Pekin.—Chinese Superstition.—Revolution and Changes in Eastern Nations.

Foreign embassies.

THE chronicles of China are said to record embassies to that country many years before the Christian era: and they likewise make mention of embassies from China at a very early period. One stated to have been sent by the emperor Marcus Antoninus, A.D. 161, has been already noticed. At the beginning of the fifteenth century ambassadors were reciprocally sent between India and China.

A.D. 1419.

The earliest embassy of which we have a detailed account, is that sent by Shah Rokh Mirza, the son of Timour, in the year 1419. It left Herat, and proceeded by Balkh to Samarcand, where they met other ambassadors, who accompanied them to China. The train of the embassy was so much increased by the addition of persons sent by other Indian princes, that at their arrival upon the frontiers, where a list of the whole company was taken upon oath, they amounted to eight hundred and sixty persons. The greater number of these were merchants who passed for the ambassador's equipage.

The ambassadors were treated with hospitality on their journey to Pekin. On reaching the capital they were summoned before day-break to an audience of the emperor, who did not appear on his throne till some time afterwards. They were then led towards the throne by an officer, who on his knees read from a paper the purport of their embassy, adding that they had brought his Majesty rarities as presents, and were come to knock the ground with their foreheads. It appears that they only bowed the head three times.

The ambassadors delivered the letters from the princes their masters, wrapped in yellow satin: they were opened by the emperor, who with much kindness having questioned the ambassadors (then on their knees), dismissed them.

An event happened which not only interrupted the favourable reception of the ambassadors, but had nearly proved fatal to them. Among the presents to the emperor was a fine horse which had belonged to Tamerlane. This horse threw the emperor in hunting, and in his first transports of rage he ordered the ambassadors to be loaded with chains. Their death was even apprehended; but the emperor pardoned them, yielding to the intreaties of his ministers, who represented to him the disgrace of violating the law of nations in the person of an ambassador.

On their return they met others coming to China from Ispahan and Schiraz.

The ceremonial of giving audience to the ambassadors, nearly agrees with what is related in the accounts of the last embassies to Pekin.

From the Pope. A.D. 1246.

Innocent IV. first conceived the idea of sending missionaries, under the title of ambassadors, to the Tartar conquerors, whom he hoped not only to convert, but to engage in the crusades in Palestine. Chengis Khan, chief of Western Tartary, had by conquest laid the foundation of his vast empire in the year 1204. He was then in alliance with the emperor of China, whom he assisted against the Eastern Tartars.* It was not until the year 1280, that Chi-tsow, his fourth son, drove the Chinese family of Song from the throne and united that kingdom to the dominions of Tartary.

The Pope selected for this mission John Carpin, a native of Poland and of the order of St. Francis. He and another priest took their departure by the way of Russia, in the month of January 1246. Although they were ill received in the Tartar dominions, they were safely conducted to the court of Battu Khan, who resided on the banks of the Volga. That prince sent them to the Tartar court. They arrived the 22d July in the Mongul dominions, and had audience of the

* Tartary, or Great Tartary as it is generally called, embraces a considerable part of Central Asia. It is possessed by two distinct sorts of people, *viz.* the Manchews or Eastern Tartars, whose capital is CHIN-YANG, and the Mongols or Western Tartars.

emperor Kayu Khan, who gave them an answer to the Pope's letter. In the month of December they took their departure for Europe with passports from the emperor, but much mortified at the manner in which they had been received.

France. A.D. 1253.

Seven years afterwards Louis IX. (commonly called St. Louis), who was then in Palestine, deceived by a pretended embassy from a Tartar prince, imagined that the great Khan of the Tartars and his subjects would embrace the Christian religion. The king named three ambassadors of the Dominican order, to whom he joined two of his officers and two secretaries. On the 28th January 1253, they took their departure, in company with the pretended ministers of the Tartarian prince. Louis carrying his zeal still further, sent, on the 7th May in the same year, William de Rubruquis, a Capuchin friar, as his ambassador to Mangu Khan, great Khan of the Tartars. The expedition of Rubruquis was not more fortunate. After sustaining warm disputations with the Mahomedans, Idolators, and Nestorians, he was obliged to return. Rubruquis had the boldness to treat Mangu Khan's idolatry with great freedom. The Tartar chief had not been enlightened by polemical disputations, nor had he been taught, that in civilized countries at that day the point of the sword was the established argument in support of religious opinions. The Khan therefore dismissed the friar with this answer—

"The Monguls believe in one God, and to him address their earnest adorations. God has given the Scripture to the Christians, who do not practise its precepts. Their holy book does not permit them to vilify each other, nor for the sake of gain to abandon the paths of justice."

An observation not inapplicable to the views entertained, at the present day, by some who are disposed to gain the end without reference to the means, in the future trade with China.

The Popes continued to keep up with Tartary the intercourse by missions which had been begun by Innocent.

In 1256 Alexander IV. sent letters to the Sultan of Persia in order to convert him. A.D. 1256. In 1269 the Tartars in Syria, assisted by the Armenians, made war on the Mahomedans, and the great Khan sent his ambassadors to St. Louis, James of Arragon, Charles of Sicily, and other Christian princes, inviting them to join his forces. This caused Louis to undertake his second voyage to Africa, where he died.

The legation of Mezzabarba from the Pope to the emperor Kan-ghi in 1720, already noticed, contains many curious particulars illustrating the character of that monarch.

He received the legate with outward marks of distinction, and condescendingly lent his assistance to make peace among the wrangling missionaries of different orders, whose dissentions the Pope

had vainly hoped to reconcile by this mission. The remarks of the emperor on the quarrels of these missionaries, on the infallibility of the Pope, and on his interference with the concerns of China, are conceived in the spirit of the keenest satire.

When he went away the emperor made him promise to bring with him men of learning and a good physician, the best geographical maps, and most esteemed new books in Europe, chiefly mathematical; also the particulars relative to any new discovery that might be made with regard to the longitude.

This mission, from which the sovereign pontiff expected the firm establishment of his power in China, marks the era of its declension, so rapidly completed in the expulsion of the Romish priests by Yong-ching in 1723.

Marco Polo. A.D. 1260.

The simple motive of commerce animated other voyagers to explore Tartary and China.

The first who presents himself is the famous Marco Polo.

His interesting travels, published by Mr. Marsden, in 1818, remove many of the doubts which had existed as to the credibility of the relations which they contain. Historians agree in considering Marco Polo as the father of modern discoveries.

In the year 1260, during the reign of Baldwin II. Emperor of Constantinople (the last of the

French emperors who sat on the eastern throne), two brothers, Nicholas and Matthew, noble Venetians of the illustrious family of Paole, impressed with the desire of knowing the eastern countries better than they had been yet known, laded a ship with merchandize, and embarked at Venice for Constantinople. Thence they set sail for the Euxine Sea with some faithful friends who followed their fortunes, and landed at Soldadia. They visited the court of a prince named Barka, who received their presents and treated them civilly; but a war having broken out between that monarch and another Tartar prince, Nicholas and Matthew Paole were obliged to think of returning. They then took a long circuitous route to Bochara, where they remained three years; then they joined the suite of an ambassador from the Emperor of Tartary to the Grand Khan. Marco Polo. A.D. 1260.

The fourth son of the celebrated conqueror, Chengis Khan, then reigned in Tartary. In that country he was known by the name of Khublia Khan—in China (which he afterwards conquered) by that of Chi-tsow. His equity, moderation, and love of learning, render his memory still dear in China. He received the Venetians favourably, and endeavoured to gain from them every information as to the state of Europe. He even carried his complaisance so far as to propose their return to their own country accompanied by an ambassador to the Pope, requesting his Holiness

Marco Polo. A.D. 1272.

would send persons to instruct him and his people in the Christian religion.

The two brothers promised this prince to accompany the ambassador on his return from Rome. After a journey of three years, they reached Venice in April 1272. The ambassador died on the journey.

Two years afterwards (1274) they resolved to perform their promise to the generous Khublia Khan. Furnished with letters from Gregory X., and taking with them some of the oil belonging to the lamp of the Holy Sepulchre, as the Khan had requested, they set off on their journey accompanied by two priests, of whom no further mention is made. Young Marco Polo, who was son to one of these famous travellers, accompanied them. They were received by Khublia Khan with every mark of attention due to the confidence in him, which this second visit evinced.

Marco became the confidant of the Emperor, and during seventeen years was employed by him on services of the greatest trust and importance. With difficulty the Venetians procured their dismission from his court. At length, the Khan sent them back by sea. They embarked from the river Pe-ho, and touched at Java on their passage to the Persian Gulph, from whence they made their way to Trebizond, Constantinople, and Venice, where they arrived in 1295, in the enjoyment of health and riches. Ambassadors from the Khan to the Pope accompanied them.

A.D. 1295.

Perhaps history can scarcely parallel the wisdom, perseverance, and good fortune of these travellers. One of Polo's maps of the world, in which he has distinctly marked the Cape (since called the Cape of Good Hope), the coast of Zanzibar, and the island of Madagascar, is reported to be still preserved at St. Michael de Murano at Venice. Marco Polo.

Marco Polo's relation was, however, deemed a romance by his own countrymen, who in allusion to his computing by millions the riches and population of China, gave him the nickname of *Misser Marco Millione.*

The next oriental history known in Europe after Marco Polo's Voyages was written by Hayton, a relation of the king of Armenia. After quieting the troubles in his own country he went to Cyprus, to accomplish the vow he had made of dedicating himself to a religious life. Pope Clement V. being then at Avignon, Hayton travelled thither, and dedicated his Oriental History to Nicholas Falconi, who translated it into Latin by order of the Pope. Hayton.

Hayton, as well as Marco Polo, speaks of China under the name of Cathay; and he first records the vanity of the Chinese, who, proud of their superior sagacity and learning, say they are the only people in the universe who behold the light with both eyes; that the Latins have but one eye, and that the rest of the world are blind.

Portuguese. A. D. 1518.

The PORTUGUESE sent an embassy to China in 1518, and the Jesuits established themselves there soon afterwards.

All the information respecting China since that period is derived either from the embassies sent thither from Europe, or from the accounts of the missionaries, most of which were collected by Father Du Halde. The Travels of Anthony Jenkinson* from Russia to Bochara in 1557, contain accounts of the roads to China, received by him from persons who had visited that country.

Du Halde not only availed himself of every printed relation, but had the advantage of a number of manuscripts written by the missionaries, and his book was revised by Father Contancin, on his return to France after a residence of thirty-two years in China, ten of which he passed at Pekin.

Since the Emperor of China's edict for the expulsion of the missionaries in 1723, those who remained there and those who afterwards found their way thither, have been, as already stated, obliged to profess physic, mathematics, music, &c.; in short, to assume any other character than that in which they wished to appear publicly.

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* Anthony Jenkinson, an intelligent merchant, was sent by the Muscovy Company to settle a trade in great Bochara, and was afterwards deputed to Russia in quality of Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth.

The first direct commercial intercourse between China and Europe was effected through the instrumentality of Alphonso Alberquerque (from whose wise administration, while Viceroy in the East-Indies, Portugal derived such advantages), who formed the design of opening a communication with China, though he did not live to see it attempted. Portuguese. A.D. 1518.

In consequence of intelligence sent by him to the Court of Portugal, a squadron sailed from Lisbon in 1518, to convoy an ambassador to China.

As soon as the squadron arrived at the islands in the neighbourhood of Canton, it was surrounded by Chinese vessels who came to reconnoitre it. Ferdinand Andrada, who commanded it, did not put himself in any posture of defence. He suffered the Chinese to come on board, communicated the object of his voyage to the mandarins that presided at Canton, and sent his ambassador on shore, who was conducted to Pekin.

Whatever may have been the state of China when the Portuguese landed there, as they had no other object in view than to draw riches from thence and to propagate their religion, had they met the best kind of government established in the country they would not have profited by it. Thomas Perez, their ambassador, found the court of Pekin disposed to favour his nation, the fame of which had spread itself throughout Asia. It had already attracted the esteem of the Chinese,

Portuguese. A.D. 1518.

which the conduct of Ferdinand Andrada, who commanded the Portuguese squadron, tended still further to increase. He visited all the coasts of China, and traded with the natives. When he was on the point of departure he issued a proclamation in the ports he had put into, that if any one had been injured by a Portuguese, and would make it known, he should receive satisfaction. The ports of China were now upon the point of being opened to them. Thomas Perez was just about concluding a treaty, when Simon Andrada, brother to Ferdinand, appeared on the coasts with a fresh squadron. This commander treated the Chinese in the same manner as the Portuguese had for some time treated all the people of Asia. He built a fort without permission, on the island of Tywan, from whence he took opportunities of pillaging and extorting money from all the ships bound from or to the ports of China; he seized upon the Chinese, and made slaves of them, and gave himself up to the most licentious acts of piracy and the most shameful dissoluteness. The sailors and soldiers under his command followed his example. The Chinese, enraged at these outrages, fitted out a large fleet. The Portuguese defended themselves courageously, and escaped by making their way through the enemy's fleet. The emperor imprisoned Thomas Perez, who died in confinement, and the Portuguese nation was banished from China for some years. After

this the Chinese relaxed, and gave permission to the Portuguese to trade at the port of Sancian, to which place they brought gold from Asia, spices from the Moluccas, and from Ceylon elephants' teeth, and precious stones. In return, they took silks of every kind, china, gums, medicinal herbs, and *tea*, which has since become so necessary a commodity to the northern nations of Europe. Portuguese. A.D. 1518.

The Portuguese contented themselves with the huts and factories they had at Sancian, and the liberty granted to their trade by the Chinese government, till an opportunity offered of establishing themselves upon a footing more solid and less dependent upon the mandarins, who had the command of the coast.

A pirate, whose successes had made him powerful, had seized upon the island of Macao, from whence he blocked up the ports of China, and even proceeded so far as to lay siege to Canton. The neighbouring mandarins had recourse to the Portuguese, who had ships in the harbour of Sancian; they hastened to the relief of Canton, raised the siege, and obtained a complete victory over the pirate, whom they pursued as far as Macao, where he slew himself.*

* The pirates continued to infest the coasts and rivers approaching near Canton until 1810, when they were effectually subdued by the joint efforts of the Portuguese, English, and Chinese.

Portuguese. The emperor of China, informed of the service the Portuguese had rendered him on this occasion, bestowed Macao on them as a mark of his gratitude. The Portuguese built a town, which became very flourishing, and was advantageously situated for the trade they soon after entered into with Japan.

A.D. 1666. A PORTUGUESE embassy was sent, in 1666, from Goa, as from the King of Portugal. The ambassador was brought sick into Canton, meanly treated, and looked upon as a sham ambassador. His secretary, one companion, and a chaplain had an audience of the governor, who commanded them on both knees to touch the ground with their foreheads, which was a great affront: then inquiring after the ambassador's quality, the chaplain, thinking it a great honour, said he had been a captain of horse. The governor laughed, and answered that his servants were captains of horse, and some of them great officers.

Another embassy was sent to China from Portugal, which went from Canton to Pekin in 1754.

It was supposed to have been chiefly undertaken on religious motives, though trade was included in their instructions. It was conducted chiefly by the priests at Macao and their brethren at the court of Pekin, and the ambassador was greatly under their directions. He went up in

February or March, and came back in November. Portuguese.
Two mandarins of high rank, one a German Jesuit, the other a Tartar, were sent from the emperor to escort him to Pekin. The Portuguese kept the design of their embassy secret, and it was only told in general terms that the ambassador was graciously received. Yet though they were not communicative, the conduct of the Chinese subsequent to the embassy, spoke plainly enough that the trouble and expense had been thrown away. A few trifling impositions at Macao of about three hundred pounds a year were remitted. For the rest, the people at Macao were treated worse than before. A viceroy of Canton, a few years afterwards, ordered a procession of the Chinese idols to be carried through the principal streets —though every means by remonstrance and even supplication were used to prevent what had never been done before, and what the governor and clergy thought so great a disgrace. In cases of murder, though it should happen that an European killed another in Macao, the Portuguese government was not, at an early period at least, suffered to try the cause. The Chinese mandarins judged, condemned, and executed the criminal, and that even within the walls of the city.

The Dutch had hitherto contented themselves The Dutch.
with being the carriers of Europe, and, purchasing India goods at Lisbon, had sold them again to all the states of Europe.

The Dutch. A.D. 1594. Philip II. having made himself master of Portugal, forbade his new subjects (in 1594) to hold correspondence with his enemies. Thus excluded from the port of Lisbon, the Dutch thought of fitting out ships for India, China, and Japan. The success of their first attempts to trade at the island of Java and the Moluccas excited fresh emulation. Societies were formed in most of the maritime and trading towns in the low countries. These associations soon became so numerous that they proved detrimental to each other, for the rage of purchasing raised the value of commodities to an exorbitant degree in India, and the necessity of selling, made them bear a low price in Europe. These societies were upon the point of being ruined by their own efforts, when, in 1602, the States-General united them into one East-India Company.

A.D. 1607. In 1607 the Dutch again attempted to open a communication with the Chinese ports, but failed.

A.D. 1624. In 1624 they gained a settlement on the island of Tywan or Formosa, whither the Chinese went to trade with them. The Dutch were driven from this island in 1662 by Coxinga, the Chinese pirate.

A.D. 1655. In the year 1655, in consequence of orders from the Dutch East-India Company, an embassy was sent from Batavia to the great Khân. Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyser, merchants, were chosen for that purpose. Their train consisted of fourteen persons, *viz.* two merchants, six writers,

a steward, a surgeon, two interpreters, a trumpeter, and a drummer. They took with them also two merchants more, to take care of the traffic at Canton during their journey to Pekin. Their presents consisted of several rich pieces of woollen cloth, fine linen, several sorts of spices, coral, little boxes of wax, perspective and looking-glasses, swords, guns, feathers, armour, &c. The object of their mission was to establish a firm league with the emperor, and obtain a free trade for the Dutch throughout his dominions. The Dutch. A.D. 1655.

The 14th June 1655 they set sail in two yachts, which were to carry them to Canton, and thence to Pekin.

After some months of delay and extortion at Canton,* the ambassadors with a few followers were permitted to repair to Pekin.†

The Dutch were not admitted to the Emperor's presence till they had performed the nine prostrations to the throne. This ceremony not being complied with by the Muscovite ambassador, who was at Pekin the same year, he was refused an

* The treasurers at Canton asked if the Emperor's letter was not written on better paper than the Viceroy's. They seemed displeased at the slight fashion of the credentials, and asked if the government of Holland had no stamp or seal for their letters.

† The Lords of the Council at Pekin asked if the ambassadors were allied to their prince, for that no foreign ambassadors could be admitted to an audience if not akin to the prince who sent them. This difficulty was, however, surmounted.

The Dutch. A.D. 1655.

audience, and not even suffered to depart till the Emperor had given him a pass.

At length the Dutch ambassadors, accompanied by those from the Mogul and the Tartars, were conducted to the palace. They then waited all night in an open court, in expectation of the Emperor appearing on his throne early in the morning.

The long-expected appearance of the emperor afforded but little gratification to the Dutch ambassadors, for after sitting in state for a quarter of an hour, they were ordered to withdraw without his speaking to them. Presents were indeed delivered to them, consisting of silver damask, cloth of gold, &c. They then received notice to repair to the court of Lipû (or of the ceremonies) to receive the emperor's letter to the Governor-general of Batavia. They were conducted into an antichamber, where one of the council took the letter off the table, which was covered with a yellow carpet, and opening it, declared to them the contents. It was written both in the Chinese and Tartar tongues, gilt on the edges, and painted on both sides with golden dragons; then making it up again, he wrapped it in a silk scarf, and putting it into a box, delivered it to the ambassadors, who received it kneeling. He afterwards took the letter again from them, and bound it to the back of one of the interpreters, who went along with it before the ambassadors, through the middle gate of the court, which was set wide

open for the purpose. This ceremony was performed in great silence; neither was the least mention made at any of their entertainments of the Dutch negotiations.

The Emperor's letter was as follows, *viz.* "The King sends this letter to John Maatzuiker, the Dutch Governor-general at Batavia. Our territories being as far asunder as the East from the West, it is with great difficulty that we can approach each other, and from the beginning to this present, the Hollanders never came to visit us. But those who sent Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyser to me are a brave and wise people, who in your name have appeared before me, and brought me several presents. Your country is ten thousand miles distant from mine, but you show your noble mind in remembering me; for this reason my heart doth very much incline to you, therefore I send to you :—(Here the presents are mentioned.)—You have asked leave to come and trade in my country by importing and exporting commodities, which will redound very much to the advantage of my subjects; but, in regard, your country is so far distant, and the winds on these coasts so boisterous as to endanger your ships, the loss of which would very much trouble me, therefore if you do think fit to send hither, I desire it may be but once every eight years, and no more than an hundred men in a company, twenty of whom may come up to the place where I keep my

The Dutch.

Court, and then you may bring your merchandize ashore into your lodge without bartering them at sea before Canton. This I have thought good to propose for your interest and safety, and I hope it will be well liked of by you; and thus much I thought fit to make known unto you.—In the thirteenth year, eighth month, and twenty-ninth day of the reign of "SONG-TE."

On their arrival at Canton they were obliged to submit to fresh extortion from the officers of government; they were insulted by the populace, and one of their interpreters was murdered.

The Jesuits are said to have used every exertion to defeat this embassy.

After a remonstrance from the ambassadors the following decree of the Emperor was published:—

"The ultimate Decree of the Emperor:

"To the kingdom of Holland health and peace, which out of its cordial love to justice has subjected itself to us, and sent ambassadors through the wide sea to pay us tribute; we nevertheless, weighing in our mind the length of the voyage, with the dangers incident thereto, do heartily grant them leave to come once every eight years to pay their tribute unto this court; and this we do to make known to the universe our affections to the people of the remotest parts."

The opposition which the Hollanders had ex-

perienced in gaining access to China was attributed to the effect of an old prophecy among the Chinese, "that a remote nation of whites clothed all over, should one day conquer their country." It is remarkable, that a similar prophecy is said to have influenced the Japanese respecting the admission of Europeans to their country.—Vide Third Report of the Select Committee on the Export Trade from Great Britain to the East-Indies. The Dutch.

The Dutch were dispirited by their ill success; but their loss of Tywan in 1661 produced two other embassies. The first of John Van Campen and Constantine Noble, to the Viceroy of the province of Fu-keen, in 1662. On this occasion the Viceroy of Fu-keen and the Chinese general presented the Dutch with silver plates, upon which their names and titles were engraved in Chinese characters gilt. These served as passes with which they might travel through the empire. A.D. 1661.

This deputation was followed by a magnificent embassy to the Emperor Kan-ghi in 1664. The Lord Peter Van Hoorn, privy counsellor and chief treasurer of India, was chosen ambassador. His suite consisted of a chief counsellor of the embassy, a factor, and master of the ceremonies, a secretary, a steward, six gentlemen, a surgeon, six men for a guard, two trumpeters, and one cook. In case the ambassador should die in the voyage, Noble was to succeed him.

The reception of the ambassadors, and the forms observed in their negotiations with the Chinese ministers, were nearly the same as those already described, nor was their success better.

Russia.

The RUSSIANS* had, towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, penetrated through Siberia to the confines of China. The Chinese took umbrage at the enterprizing spirit of these new neighbours, and erected forts to defend their boundaries. Skirmishes were frequent, and an open war was ex-

A.D. 1689.

pected. A reconciliation was however effected in 1689, by plenipotentiaries from the two courts, who fixed the limits at the river Kubechi, three hundred leagues from the great wall. Gubbillon, a Jesuit, who was a great favourite of the emperor Kan-ghi, was sent by him to accompany the Chinese ministers. Raynal remarks that this was the first treaty in which the Chinese had ever

* The conquests by the Great Duke or Czar Basilius the fourth of Pleskow and Smolensko about 1508, laid the foundation of Russia's independence. That empire, which now comprises portions in three quarters of the globe, had been more or less subjected to the Tartars. In 1554 Russia acquired Astracan, and spread her authority on both sides of the Volga to the Caspian. The subsequent measures of that extraordinary man Peter the Great, who in 1703 built Cronstadt and St. Petersburgh, formed a navy on the Black Sea, and contemplated a canal to unite that and the Caspian Sea, led to that extension of its power, which is now so gigantic as to attract the anxious attention not only of Europe but of all the bordering Asiatic nations.

been concerned since the foundation of their empire. He adds, "They granted the Russians the liberty of sending a caravan every year to Pekin, an indulgence which had always been denied to foreigners with the utmost precaution. It was easily perceived that the Tartars, though they conformed to the manners and government of the Chinese, did not adopt their political maxims." Russia.

Everard Isbrand Ides, who was sent on an embassy from the court of Russia to Pekin in 1693, appears to have been treated with much more respect than the Dutch had experienced. A.D. 1693.

The ceremony of waiting all night for the emperor's appearance on his throne in the morning, to which the envoys from Holland were subjected, was on this occasion dispensed with.

After having delivered the Czar's credentials, the ambassador was invited by the emperor to eat with him; and that prince carried his complaisance so far as to send him from his own hand a cup of Tartarian liqour. Every civility was shewn to him during his residence at the capital, and the ceremony of his departure was attended with the utmost marks of attention.

In 1712 an embassy was despatched *from* Pekin to A-yu-kee, khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, situated on the banks of the Volga, to the north of the Caspian. A.D. 1712.

It was sent in return for one from the Tartars, which had reached China the preceding year:

Russia. A. D. 1712.

it was charged with presents to the Calmuc chief, and to bear tidings of the son of a Tartar princess, who had been on a pilgrimage to Lassa, and had found it necessary to apply for the emperor of China's protection.*

The instructions contained in the imperial edict for the guide and conduct of the mission, exemplify "the refined and artfully contrived policy of the Chinese for the peaceable government and coercion of the greatest multitude of subjects, which, at least in modern times, the world has ever seen brought under one sovereign authority."

Should circumstances lead the embassy to Moscow, or to an audience of the Czar, Peter the Great, the conduct to be observed was prescribed with great care and minuteness.

"If asked what we principally esteem and revere, you may reply, in our empire, fidelity, filial piety, charity, justice, and sincerity, are esteemed above all things. We revere and abide by them. They are the principles upon which we administer this empire, as well as govern ourselves. In the face of danger we fearlessly adhere to them."

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* The narrative of the embassy, translated from the Chinese by Sir George Staunton, Bart., in 1821, contains various conversations that passed between the several public authorities among the Russians and the Tourgouth Tartars, with whom *Tu-li-Shin*, the Chinese ambassador, communicated.

It then alludes to the possibility of Russia hesitating to detach some of her troops from the frontiers of China for fear of the emperor's power: the ambassador was instructed to state, that "his Imperial Majesty entertains no designs whatever which are inconsistent with the peace which has been established for many years. You may therefore immediately remove and employ your frontier troops, without the least hesitation or uneasiness!"

"If Russia speaks to you about fire-arms and solicits assistance of such kind, you may remark on the length of the way, the rugged mountains and forests which are difficult to pass; and should they press you upon the subject of remitting to us their request, you can answer, that being sent on a mission to the khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, you can hardly venture to address his Majesty upon the subject."

Again: "As the Russians are of a vain and ostentatious disposition, they will no doubt display before you the several things they possess; on such occasions, neither express admiration nor contempt. In all your proceedings you must shew moderation, as well as gravity and composure.

"The inhabitants of the Russian territory, its natural and artificial productions, its geography and general appearance, are also subjects to which due attention is to be given by you in the course of your journey."

Russia. A.D. 1712.

On arriving at Tobolsky they met Prince Gazarin, the Russian governor of Siberia, with whom the envoy had some conversation. After inquiring about the health of the Cha-han-Khan,* they were informed that he had been apprized of the mission, but was at that time in the field at the head of the army.

They subsequently reached the head-quarters of the khan of the Tourgouths. Having dismounted from their horses, they advanced with the imperial edict and delivered it into the hands of A-yu-kee, who received it kneeling. Having been nearly three years occupied on the mission, they returned to Pekin, escorted by the troops of A-yu-khan and by their Russian guard.

A.D. 1715.

In 1715, the Czar Peter I. sent Laurence Lange as envoy to Kan-ghi, emperor of China.

Lange was received with a degree of attention not inferior to what the preceding embassy from Russia had experienced.

After an audience of the emperor, and dining at the palace, the embassy received a royal message to say, that " his majesty the emperor of China and first king of the whole world, sends word to the Russian ambassadors, that he knows them to be strangers in his empire, so remote from Europe, who are unacquainted with the customs and lan-

* The Czar Peter the First.

guage of the country; but that they ought to be under no concern, because his Majesty will protect them, not like strangers but like his own children."

Russia. A.D. 1719.

But in the spirit of Chinese jealousy, a mandarin was ordered to keep them company, and take care they wanted for nothing; at the same time a centinel was placed at their door.

Lange, in his journal, speaking of the emperor Kan-ghi, and of his attention to the welfare and interests of his subjects, says, "The merchants in particular who trade with the Russians, receive frequent marks of his bounty, for when they are not able to make their payments at the time prefixed, he advances them money out of his own treasury, that their creditors may not complain of being detained." In 1717, trade being so dull at Pekin that the Russian merchants could find no vent for their goods, the emperor gave his subjects leave to traffic with them without paying the usual duties, which occasioned that year a deficiency of twenty thousand ounces of silver in his revenue.

The governor of Western Tartary, when he gave Lange notice to prepare for his departure, acquainted him that the emperor had resolved to send ambassadors with him to Russia; two Chinese and two Tartar lords were accordingly nominated for the embassy.

The embassy from the Czar Peter the Great in the

Russia, A. D. 1719.

year 1719, the account of which is given by Mr. John Bell,* who accompanied it, is most interesting.

Leoff Vassiloveck Ismaloff was the ambassador, and Laurence de Lange was secretary to the embassy. The ambassador had also a secretary in his train, which consisted of six gentlemen of the embassy, a priest, interpreter, clerks, a band of music, footmen, valets, &c., in all about sixty persons, besides a troop of twenty-five dragoons for their escort from Tobolsky to Pekin and back.

A.D. 1720.

On the 22d September 1720 they entered the Chinese territories. Mr. Bell says: "This day we commenced guests of the emperor of China, who entertains all ambassadors, and bears their expenses from the day they enter his dominions till the time they quit them again. Our retinue consisted of about one hundred persons, who were allowed fifteen sheep every day. The overplus of this large allowance was given to the Monguls who drove the camels."

The ambassador's public entry into Pekin is fully detailed. He was treated with great respect: but the outer door of the house where he lodged was locked and sealed with the emperor's seal.

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* Mr. Bell, of Antermony, having a strong desire to visit foreign countries, embarked from Ramsgate in July 1714 for St. Petersburgh, and accompanied an embassy from Russia to Persia in 1715, and to Pekin in 1719.

M. Ismaloff's expostulation to the Aleggada, or prime minister, removed this mortification, as well as others, to which a man of less resolution would have been subjected during his residence at Pekin. Russia. A.D. 1720.

On regulating the ceremonial of the ambassador's audience, he contended for delivering his credentials into the emperor's own hands, and being excused bowing nine times on entering his Majesty's presence; both these requisitions were however deemed inadmissible. After a negotiation of some days the ceremonial was at last adjusted on the following terms: "That the ambassadors should comply with the established customs of the court of China, and when the emperor sent a minister to Russia, he should have instructions to conform himself in every respect to the ceremonies in use at that court."

After they had waited about a quarter of an hour, the emperor entered the hall at a back door, and seated himself on his throne, upon which all the company stood. The master of the ceremonies then desired the ambassador, who was at some distance from the rest, to walk into the hall, and conducted him by one hand, while he held his credentials in the other. Having ascended the steps, the letter was laid on a table for that purpose, as had been previously agreed; but the emperor beckoned to the ambassador, and directed him to approach; which he no sooner perceived

Russia. A.D. 1720.

than he took up the credentials, and attended by Aloy, the master of the ceremonies, a Mongul by birth, walked up to the throne, and kneeling, laid them before the emperor, who touched them with his hand, and inquired after his Czarish Majesty's health. He then told the ambassador that the love and friendship he entertained for his Majesty were such, that he had even dispensed with an established custom of the empire in receiving his letter.

During this part of the ceremony, which was not long, the retinue continued standing without the hall, and they imagined, the letter being delivered, that all was over. But the master of the ceremonies brought back the ambassador, and then ordered all the company to kneel and make obeisance nine times to the emperor. At every third time the members of the embassy stood up and kneeled again. Great pains were taken to avoid this piece of homage, but without success.

The emperor (Kan-ghi) treated the ambassador with polite attention. Every thing was conducted with great regularity.

The Emperor sat cross-legged on his throne. He was dressed in a short loose coat of sable having the fur outward, lined with lambskin, under which he wore a long tunic of yellow silk, interwoven with figures of golden dragons with five claws; which device no person is allowed to bear except the imperial family. On his head was a

little round cap, faced with black fox-skin; on the top of which was a large beautiful pearl in the shape of a pear, which together with a tassel of red silk tied below the pearl, was all the ornament. The throne also was very simple, being made of wood, but of neat workmanship. It was raised five easy steps from the floor, was open towards the company, but had a large japanned screen on each side to defend it from the wind.

On the 29th a mandarin came to the lodgings of the embassy with two clerks, and took a list of the presents sent by the Czar to the Emperor.

Though the ambassador arrived at Pekin on the 18th of November, it was not till the 27th December that his gates were open to the people of all characters, and merchants and others allowed to go in and out at pleasure. Though all communication was not prohibited before this time, it was, however, difficult, and not to be obtained without permission of the proper officer.

The ambassador now preparing for his return to Russia, the Emperor sent three officers with presents to the Czar, and on the 26th, the ambassador went to the tribunal for foreign affairs, and reeeived a letter from the Emperor. On this occasion the president acquainted his Excellency "that he must consider this letter as a singular mark of favour to his master, as their emperors were not in use to write letters of compliment to any prince; or indeed to write letters of any kind,

Russia. A.D. 1720. except those which contained their orders to their subjects, and that the Emperor dispensed with so material a custom only to testify his respect for his Czarish Majesty."

The original of this letter was in the Chinese language, and a copy of it in the Mongolian. It was folded up in a long roll according to the custom in China, and wrapped in a piece of yellow silk which was tied to a man's arm.

A.D. 1721. All these flattering appearances of success to the Russian negotiation ceased with the departure of the ambassador. He left Monsieur De Lange at Pekin in quality of resident and agent of his imperial majesty Peter I., where he was subjected to insults which at length exhausted the patience of the Russian resident.

The caravan arrived from Russia, but the agents suffered every inconvenience and extortion. After remaining at Pekin near seventeen months almost a prisoner in his own house, De Lange was obliged to take his departure, and the caravan which left Pekin with him, was the last admitted into that city.

It is not improbable that the vexations he endured are to be attributed more to the influence of the mandarins than the Emperor.

It was supposed that the missionaries on this occasion formed a common cause with the mandarins, to keep all other strangers from the court of Pekin.

The following extracts from De Lange's Journal may serve to shew how far the ministers were disinclined to the negotiation in which he was engaged, and will also illustrate the temper and manners of the Chinese.

"The 17th August, having sent my interpreter to the council to know if they had come to any resolution on the affair of an advance to the Russian commissary at Kalchanna, he brought back the following answer: 'that they had indeed found in the registers that the council had formerly advaneed money to the commissary; but that the trade was an object of so little consequence with them that they did not think it merited the council's being incommoded with proposals of that sort.'" *

On his application to the Chinese minister respecting a memorial which he wished to deliver, he received an answer which he relates in the words of his interpreter, *viz.*

"The Allegamba charged me to tell the agent that which he had formerly told M. de Ismaloff, *viz.* 'The commerce is looked upon by us with contempt, and as a very trifling object; that the agent himself was not ignorant that we had long

* Kalchanna is the first Chinese city within the Great Wall, in the road from Sellinginsky to Pekin. It is here that the duties inwards and outwards are paid by the Russians, and also for great part of the country of the Mongols.

Russia. A.D. 1721.

refused to admit the present caravan, and most certainly should never have consented to its admittance into China, if his Majesty had not suffered himself to be persuaded to it at the reiterated instances of Monsieur De Ismaloff.' That the Allegamba had at the same time added these words: 'These merchants come here to enrich themselves, not our people, which is easy to be seen; because they pretend themselves to fix the price of their own goods, that they may sell them the dearer. For these reasons, go tell the agent that we shall not only refuse to receive the said memorial, but that in future he need not give himself the trouble of proposing any thing to us which may be relative to commerce, because we will not embarrass ourselves hereafter with the merchants of Russia.' "Whereupon," adds M. De Lange, "our confinement continued much the same as before, insomuch that it was only permitted to the domestics of the first minister, of the president, and a clerk of the wardrobe, to enter our house, which they did very frequently, and in all appearance to spy what passed in our quarters, in hopes that we should be obliged at length to submit our trade to their discretion."

"After this the Khorea merchants indeed entered into my apartment, but dared not make any stay there, for fear of being insulted by the soldiers that escorted them. The civility with which I received them, and to which they had not

been used with the Chinese, made them have a desire of being more acquainted with me, for they came again on the 22d, before my house, but the guard at the gate refused them entrance."*

"I learnt at the same time from my interpreter, that they had reasoned amongst themselves much in the following manner: 'These foreigners come here with their commerce, to encumber us every moment with a thousand petty affairs, pretending that they ought to be favoured on all occasions, no more nor less than if they had laid an obligation on us.'

"In the meantime I had made a demand some time ago of the council for a free passage for the caravan by the old road of Kerlindee, and sent my interpreter, with a clerk of the caravan, to the council to know if the Bogdoi Chan had given his consent or not. But they told him for answer,

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* The editor of De Lange's Journal adds in a note: "The Chinese being accustomed to treat the inhabitants of Korea with great roughness, and having prohibited them all correspondence with foreign nations, it is not to be expected that they should relax their hard treatment of them for the sake of a minister of a court of Russia, which is, as it were, the only power who could support the inhabitants of Korea if they should ever be desirous of throwing off the Chinese yoke, seeing that by the river Amoor the Russes could fall down into the ports of Korea, without a possibility of the Chinese hindering them. And it is not impossible but this conduct of Monsieur De Lange might have been one cause of the court of China's sudden resolution of ordering him to leave the country."

Russia. A.D. 1721.

'that they expected to have been freed from their importuning the council about their beggarly commerce, after they had been told so often that the council would not embarrass themselves any more about affairs that were only beneficial to the Russes, and that of course they had only to return by the way they came.'"

At the resident's last interview with the Chinese minister, he represented the indignities and insults to which himself, the commissary of the caravan, and those who came to trade with them, had been exposed.

The minister's answer to his long harangue is in the true style of Chinese negotiation, *viz.* "That it being his Majesty's custom never to take any resolution without first well weighing all circumstances, he never changed his measures for any reason whatsoever; and after what he had declared positively, in regard to the caravan and my person, he had no inclination to propose to him a change of sentiment in this regard.*

* "The Chinese have the custom of explaining themselves but once on one proposal; and having once given an answer upon a matter, whatsoever it be, they always hold themselves upon this answer as an infallible argument: so that, if you turn an affair into twenty different lights to convince them, by one means or other, of their error, or to make them alter their sentiments, it is all lost trouble, they firmly holding by their first word; and it is a general rule with the Chinese, high and low, in all they have to do with foreigners: in so much that every time a proposal is made to them, which their interest or vanity may

"It was, that for the future no transactions should be carried on between the two nations, except upon the frontiers." Russia. A.D. 1721.

Before this new arrangement a caravan went every year from Petersburgh, traversed immense deserts, and was met on the frontiers of China by some hundreds of soldiers, who escorted it to the capital of the empire. There all who belonged to it were shut up in a caravansera, to wait till the merchants should offer them the refuse of their warehouses. The traffic being thus completed, the caravan returned to Russia, and arrived at St. Petersburgh three years after it had set out from thence.

The state of Persia about this period gave rise to a circumstance which tended in its results to extend the power of Russia towards Iran.* In 1710 Persia had declared war against the Affghans;† the A.D. 1710.

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may incline them not to approve, it may be certainly depended upon, that after infinite disputes, you will be obliged to receive the first words which they pronounced in the beginning for an answer, be it agreeable or disagreeable."—*De Lange's Journal.*

* Called Persia by Europeans.

† The origin of the Affghan tribes who inhabit the mountainous tract between Khorassan and the Indus is variously traced by different historians; some asserting that they are lineally descended from the Jewish tribes made prisoners by Nebuchadnezzar; other principal chiefs are said to trace their families to David and to Saul. They are quite a distinct race from the Persians, Tartars, and Indians, but there is no affinity whatever between the Hebrew tongue and the Pushtoo, or

Russia. A.D. 1710.

latter were joined by the Usbegs, and the tribes of Kurdistan were likewise in a state of hostility towards the court at Ispahan. The Shah Husseein applied for aid to Russia; the Czar, who had contemplated the extension of the Russian power on the western shores of the Caspian, determined to comply with the requisition, and entered into a personal negotiation with A-yu-kee, the khan of the Tourgouths (who has been already noticed), to supply him with ten thousand troops, to accompany him to Persia; this was readily acceded to, but the khan thought half of that number would be more than sufficient to answer all purposes, and immediately gave orders for 5,000 to march directly and join the Czar at Terki. The unfavourable state of the weather and the want of necessary supplies, obliged the Czar to content himself with leaving a sufficient garrison at Derbent, which was considered the key to Persia on that side. The misfortunes of the Shah Husseein led him to resign the crown, and with him terminated the Suffavean dynasty, which had ruled in Persia since 1479.

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or modern language of the Affghans. There is no doubt that they were converted at a very early date to the Mahomedan religion. Their condition has undergone very little change. Their chiefs have always been more anxious for personal independence than for the strength of the government under which they lived. Their country was long divided between the monarchs of India and Persia, but they were always turbulent and dangerous subjects.—*Malcolm's Persia.*

In 1727, Catharine the First, Empress of Russia, sent Count Vladislawitch as ambassador extraordinary to Pekin, for the purpose of carrying into execution the projects of Peter the Great. On the 21st October a treaty was concluded between Russia and China, which was ratified on the 14th June 1728. Russia. A.D. 1727.

The fifth article of that treaty was as follows.

"The Russians shall henceforth occupy at Pekin the kouan, or court, which they now inhabit. According to the desire of the Russian ambassador, a church shall be built with the assistance of the Chinese government. The priest who now resides there, and the three others who are expected, shall live in the kouan above mentioned. These three priests shall be attached to the same church, and receive the same provisions as the present priest. The Russians shall be permitted to worship their God according to the rites of their religion.

"Four young students, and two of a more advanced age, acquainted with the Russian and Latin languages, shall also be received into this house, the ambassador wishing to have them at Pekin to learn the languages of the country. They shall be maintained at the expense of the emperor, and shall be at liberty to return to their own country as soon as they have finished their studies."

According to this treaty the Russian mission,

Russia. A.D. 1727.

composed of six ecclesiastical and four lay members, fixed its abode at Pekin; the first to do duty alternately in the convent of Candlemas and the church of the Assumption. The lay members are young men, who are obliged to study the Mantchoo and Chinese languages, and to acquire an adequate knowledge of China. They all reside at the kouan, a vast building, part of which is known by the name of the Court of the Embassy, is kept in repair by the Chinese government, and the other, containing the convent, by Russia.

The regular abode of the mission at Pekin is fixed at ten years, at the expiration of which it is relieved by another.

A.D. 1768.

The Empress Catherine, acting upon the policy of her predecessor, availed herself of the disturbed state of Persia in 1788, and prevailed on Heraclius, prince of Georgia and tributary to Persia, to enter into a treaty, transferring that province to Russia. It was signed by Prince Potemkin on the 24th July 1783; but Aga Mahomed Khan, in 1795, who afterwards succeeded to the throne of Persia, resubjugated Georgia. It has since become a Russian province, the government of Russia extending to the banks of the Araxes and on the southern shores of the Caspian.*

* Sir Harford Jones Brydges, Bart., late minister plenipotentiary from Great Britain to the Court of Persia, has intimated his intention of giving to the public a work which will contain

Two Russian ships having arrived at Macao in 1806, an edict was issued which pointed out the interdiction that existed against that nation trading by sea, and the Company's supracargoes were requested to communicate it to the commanders, and to enforce obedience. The supracargoes consented to be the channel of transmitting it, but stated, that as Russia was an independent power they could take no further step respecting the order. Russia. A.D. 1806.

In this year an embassy from Russia was refused admittance into the capital. On its arrival at the Great Wall the ambassador was met by an officer from Pekin, with a letter desiring the ambassador to make the best of his way back to St. Petersburgh, as the emperor was unwilling they should extend their journey, already so long!

In 1818, an imperial manifesto was published in the month of July at St. Petersburgh, stating the terms of the peace concluded between Russia and Persia, by which no ship of war, except those belonging to Russia, were to be allowed on the Caspian. A.D. 1818.

Conformably to the fifth article of the treaty of 1728, a new mission left St. Petersburgh in 1819, to relieve the one which had been at Pekin since A.D. 1819.

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contain the transactions of that court, corrected by the King of Persia, from 1797 to 1811, a period of much interest in the political transactions of that kingdom. The work has just been advertised.

Russia. A.D. 1819.

the 10th January 1808; it reached Pekin on the 2d December 1820.*

Russian residence at Peking.

The better to execute the intentions of the Russian government M. Sipakoff was consulted respecting the best manner of purchasing original maps and geographical accounts of China for the Asiatic department at St. Petersburgh. M. Sipakoff and Father Hyacinth stated that the geographical description of the Chinese empire, called *Tai thsing i toung tchi*, was very scarce, and would cost at least 200 rubles in silver. Information was afterwards given that this book was not to be had from any bookseller in Pekin, and if you meet with a copy, it is either an old edition or imperfect. Father Hyacinth possessed this valuable work, and has translated the greater part of it into Russian.

On the 18th December, Father Hyacinth received a visit from the Portuguese missionaries of the Franciscan order living at Pekin. These Portuguese reside in the capacity of members of the astronomical and mathematical academy. Notwithstanding the aversion of the Chinese govern-

* The latest accounts of the Russian mission at Pekin, with some interesting details connected with the state of the Chinese people, their habits, manners, and customs, at so recent a period as the year 1825, will be found in the travels of the Russian mission through Mongolia to China, and of a residence at Pekin in 1820. The points more immediately connected with the object of this work are given above.

ment to the profession of the Roman Catholic religion, which has been shewn, first by persecuting and then by expelling the Jesuits from the empire, they have been obliged to keep some missionaries at Pekin to compile the almanack. While astrology has led in other nations to the study of astronomy, the Chinese, though they have studied astrology for some thousand years, have made no progress in the real knowledge of the stars. Their ancient boasted observations, and the instruments which they make use of, were brought by the learned men whom Khublia, the grandson of Gengis-khan, had invited from Balk and Samarcand. The government at present consider the publication of an annual calendar of the first importance and utility. It must do every thing in its power, not only to point out to its numerous subjects the distribution of the seasons, the knowledge of which is essentially necessary to them, to arrange the manner of gaining their livelihood and distributing their labour; but on account of the general superstition, it must mark in the almanack the lucky and unlucky days, the best days for being married, for undertaking a journey, for making their dresses, for buying or building, for presenting petitions to the Emperor, and for many other cases of ordinary life. By this means, the government keeps the people within the limits of humble obedience.

Russia. A.D. 1819.

Such is the consequence of despotism and superstitious ignorance!

Several members of the tribunal of foreign affairs insinuated, that it would be better to fill the places of astronomers with the Russian ecclesiastics or students at Pekin, instead of the Roman Catholic missionaries. The Chinese have long been desirous of driving away the latter, who maintain their ground only by virtue of an ordinance of the emperor Kanghi. It must here be observed, that Europeans who accept these places, become entirely the subjects of the Emperor of China. They receive from government their salary in money and provisions; they dress in the Chinese fashion, and wear buttons on their caps, indicative of the rank they hold.

According to the treaty concluded between Russia and China, the correspondence was to be carried on at the same time in Russian, Mantchoo, and Latin. A special school was established at Pekin, subordinate to the tribunal of Nei-ko, to teach the Russian language to twenty young Mantchoos of the first families.

On the morning of the 5th January 1825, the Emperor returned from the palace of Yuan-ming-yuan, situated to the north-west of Pekin. Conformably to the Chinese custom, drapery of ordinary blue nankeen was hung across the ends of the small streets which issue into the great street through which the sovereign passes, in order to conceal

him from the inhabitants. It is only when he is travelling in the country that his subjects, prostrated with their faces to the earth, are able to look at him by stealth.

Superstition of the Chinese.

On the 30th of April 1819, a hurricane from the south-east brought prodigious quantities of sand from the sea-coast to the capital. The whole air looked like a thick or yellow mass; at the same time a cloud covered the sun, so that Pekin was suddenly involved in darkness; it was impossible to distinguish objects at the distance of a few paces.

The philosophy of the Chinese, founded upon their classical books, teaches them that every phenomenon is a presage by which heaven announces that morals are corrupted, and that the Emperor and his agents must do their utmost to restore their purity. Kea King,* desiring to prove his repentance, and to calm the superstitious fear of the Chinese people, which might disturb the public tranquillity, published on the ninth day of the fourth month of the twenty-fifth year of his reign, on the 1st May 1819, the following ordinance, which is translated from the original Mantchoo:—

"Yesterday at three quarters past five o'clock in the afternoon, a south-east wind suddenly arose.

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* KEA-KING died in 1821, and was succeeded by TAOU-KWANG, the present emperor.

A.D. 1819. Superstition of the Chinese.

In a few minutes the air and the inside of the houses were so filled with sand, that it was impossible to distinguish objects without the help of a candle. This event is very extraordinary. Seized with terror at the bottom of my heart, I passed the night without sleep, endeavouring to divine the cause of the anger of heaven. According to signs laid down in the Great Model, to discover perversity, a long continued wind indicates infatuation. In our days the human heart is perverse and corrupted; secret and anonymous accusations are made against honest men, and often cause their ruin, which is sufficient to draw down the anger of heaven. The wind came from the south-east; it must therefore be supposed that rebels, unknown to the government, are towards the south-east, and that their impunity is the cause of the derangement of the celestial harmony.

"Full of terror and alarm, I think only of examining myself and endeavouring to amend. I sincerely inquire into every thing. The superior and inferior mandarins of Pekin, as well as those out of the capital, are bound to turn their attention to their own faults, to endeavour with their whole hearts and with all their strength to fulfil the duties of the offices entrusted to them. By seconding my intentions they will succeed in strengthening their own virtue, and in preserving the nation in future from the evils which are predicted."

Since the caravans were discontinued to Pekin, large magazines have been established at Kiatcha, one Russian and the other Chinese, where all the articles intended for exchange are deposited. Commissaries appointed by the two nations superintend this trade.

The evidence given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1830, estimates the amount of exports and imports at Kiatcha at 150,000,000 of paper rubles, the value of the ruble being about 10½*d*. An attempt had been made to introduce long ells into China through Russia: it failed owing to the immense distance over-land; there was also a fabric in Russia very similar to it, nearer the frontiers of China. The Russian tariff was stated to affect the measure; a new tariff had just been received (10 May 1830) in which there was a considerable augmentation of duties on British manufactures. It was added that Prussian cloths had been sent through Russia to China, and that the duties exacted upon them by the Russian Government were very much lower than those upon British.

In closing this account of the foreign embassies we may be permitted to quote the following passage from the works of that eminent man, Sir William Jones,* who, in discoursing upon the

* Sir William Jones, through the instrumentality of the Earl of Shelburne, was appointed to the bench in the Supreme Court at Calcutta: he embarked for Bengal on board the 'Crocodile' frigate

subject of Asiatic history, observes, that we cannot deem it an inconsiderable advantage, that all our historical researches have confirmed the Mosaic accounts of the primitive world; and after adverting to the wonderful revolutions which have occurred in kingdoms and states, which he considers as fully demonstrative of an all-ruling Providence, as the structure of the universe and the final causes which are discernible in its whole extent, and even in its minutest parts; he takes the following brief, yet comprehensive view of the rise and progress of nations:

"Three families migrate in different courses from one region, and in about four centuries establish very distant governments and various modes of societies, Egyptian, Indians, Goths, Phœnicians, Celts, Greeks, Latians, *Chinese*, Peru-

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frigate in October 1783, fifty years from the present time, and died at Calcutta on the 27th April 1794.

"By the exertion of rare intellectual talents he acquired a knowledge of arts, sciences, and languages, which has been scarcely, if ever, surpassed. His skill in the idioms of India, Persia, and Arabia, has perhaps never been equalled by any European; and his compositions on oriental subjects display a taste which we seldom find in the writings of those who had preceded him in these tracts of literature. Of the Chinese characters and tongue he had learned enough to enable him to translate an ode of Confucius."—*Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir Wm. Jones.*

It should be remembered, that the noble author refers to a period nearly fifty years ago; since which the means of acquiring a knowledge of Oriental languages and literature have been greatly facilitated, not only in India but also in this country.

vians, Mexicans,—all sprung from the same immediate stem, appear to start nearly at one time, and occupy at length those countries to which they have given, or from which they have derived their names. In twelve or thirteen hundred years more, the Greeks overrun the land of their forefathers, invade India, conquer Egypt, and aim at universal dominion; but the Romans appropriate to themselves the whole empire of Greece, and carry their arms into *Britain, of which they speak with haughty contempt.* The Goths in the fulness of time break to pieces the unwieldy colossus of Roman power, and sieze on the whole of Britain except its wild mountains, but even those wilds become subject to other invaders of the same Gothic lineage. During all these transactions the Arabs possess both coasts of the Red Sea, subdue the old seat of their first progenitors, and extend their conquests on one side through Africk, into Europe itself; on another, beyond the borders of India, part of which they annex to their flourishing empire. In the same interval the Tartars, widely diffused over the rest of the globe, swarm in the north-east, whence they rush to complete the reduction of Constantine's beautiful domains, to subjugate *China,* to raise in these Indian realms a dynasty splendid and powerful, and to ravage like the two other families the devoted regions of Iran. By this time the Mexicans and Peruvians, with many races of adventurers va-

riously intermixed, have peopled the continent and isles of America, which the Spaniards, having restored their old government in Europe, discover and in part overcome: but a *colony from* BRITAIN of which Cicero ignorantly declared that *it contained nothing valuable*, obtain the possession, and finally the sovereign dominion of extensive American districts; whilst other British subjects acquire a *subordinate empire* in the finest provinces of India, which the victorious troops of Alexander were unwilling to attack."

CHINA, although she has succeeded in maintaining the integrity of her empire for such an unprecedented series of years, has nevertheless been subjected to the inroads of her more powerful neighbours, and constrained to submit to a foreign dynasty, having escaped the scourge and probable subjugation which awaited her in the contemplated invasion by Timour, who determined to conquer a country which had expelled the race of Chengiz and the followers of the *faith* from the throne of the Celestial Empire.*

* Timour or Tamerlane, who had conquered Kashgar and Khaurizim successfully invaded Khorassan, and about the year 1383 made himself master of Candahar and Caubul. In 1384 he crossed the Oxus to invade Persia. In 1386 he took Georgia. In the following year Ispahan surrendered to him. In 1395 he entered Russia and plundered Moscow. In the following year he destroyed Astracan and pillaged Georgia and Circassia. After these exploits he led his army to the invasion of

If we turn for a moment towards Europe, we see RUSSIA, in the course of the past century, becoming one of the most powerful nations, her influence extending throughout those vast regions whose warlike inhabitants had but a few years before spread the terror of their arms even to the gates of Moscow; we find her possessing an establishment at Pekin, and trading by treaty with China, while every other nation is precluded from approaching that capital with any hope either of

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of India, and in 1899 took Delhi. On completing the conquest of Hindostan he prepared for the invasion of Turkey; he defeated Bajazet and established his power on the shores of the Mediterranean and on the banks of the Bosphorus. Every city that offered resistance to his power was laid in ashes and its inhabitants massacred. In his expedition against China he had prepared a chosen force of 200,000 men, whom he assembled and addressed in the following terms.

"I have not been able (he observed) to effect the vast conquests I have made without some violence and the destruction of a great number of true believers, but I am now resolved to perform a good and great action, which will be an expiation for all my sins: I mean to exterminate the *idolators* of *China*, and you, my dear companions, you who have been the instruments of many of my crimes shall share in the merit of this great work of repentance. We will proceed to this holy war. We will slay the infidels. Mosques shall every where rise on the ruins of their vile temples, and the Koran has told us that good works efface the sins of this world."—(*Malcolm's Persia.*)

He passed the Jaxartes when frozen, but was checked in his career by violent illness, and died at the city of Otrar the 1st April 1405; having declared his grandson Jehangeer his successor.

having a permanent residence for their subjects or the privilege to carry on traffic even at a solitary port, with any defined or recognized rights; and we also trace the spread of Russian influence not only at the court of Ispahan but in the acquisition of Georgia, one of the finest provinces which had been tributary to Persia. And we learn from the terms of a subsequent treaty between the two kingdoms, published in 1817, and from the journey of M. Mouraviev, who accompanied the expedition from Russia to Khiva in 1819 and 1820, that the attention of the court of St. Petersburgh is earnestly directed to the establishment of an influence amongst the various independent chiefs in Turcomania and the adjoining province.

Amidst these events, involving the destiny of kingdoms and of so large a portion of the human race, the "*subordinate empire,*" acquired through the instrumentality of the East-India Company, has in the last forty years become the paramount authority in the East, the British rule extending from the Indus to the Burrampooter, and from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya; whilst by the same instrument, England has established and maintained the pre-emption of the market at Canton.

The origin and progress of that trade will form the subject of the following chapter.

CHAP. IV.

British intercourse with China.*

British Intercourse.

THE narrative of the BRITISH INTERCOURSE with China will be better understood if the manner in which the trade is now carried on, so far as regards the arrival and departure of vessels, is first stated. Very little if any variation in the course now followed, will be found from that which existed at our earliest resort to Canton.

The signification of some of the names of the native officers is likewise given: any attempt at correctness in Chinese orthography would be utterly hopeless. The names are scarcely found alike in any two works, or in the different despatches from China.

"As soon as a vessel arrives among the islands which front the entrance to the Canton river, she is generally boarded by a pilot, who conducts her into Macao roads. The entrance is however so safe, that ships push on without waiting for the pilot, who, if the weather is bad, is sometimes long

* The description of the contents of this chapter is confined to this simple announcement, as the marginal notes will point out the various matter treated of.

in coming on board. The pilots' names are registered at the Keun-min-foo's office, near Macao, and for a license to act the sum of 600 dollars is paid. The person who takes out the license sometimes knows nothing about ships or the river; but employs fishermen to do the duty. On the vessel's arrival in Macao roads, the pilot goes on shore to report her at the office of the Keun-min-foo, who when he has received answers to his inquiries about her, gives a permit for her to pass through the Bogue, and orders a river pilot on board. This pilot seldom repairs on board the vessel before twenty-four hours have elapsed. When arrived, the vessel proceeds through the Bogue, and up the Canton river to Whampoa.

"Every ship that enters the port is required to have a hong merchant as security for the duties, and a linguist and comprador, before she can commence unloading. She is required also to give a written declaration, in duplicate, solemnly affirming that she has brought no opium. From giving this declaration, the East-India Company's ships alone are excused.

The hong or security merchants are the only individuals who are legally permitted to trade with foreigners. To obtain this privilege they have to pay largely, and when once become merchants, they are rarely allowed to retire, and are at all times subject to severe exactions from the local government. The linguists are government

interpreters, who procure permits for delivering and taking in cargo, transact all the custom-house business, and keep account of the duties. All the minor charges of the government, also, are paid by them, in consideration of which they receive a fee of about 173 dollars, previous to the vessel's departure.

" When a vessel wishes to discharge or receive cargo, the linguist is informed a day or two previously what kind of goods are to be received or discharged, and in what quantities. He then applies for a permit, which being issued, the lighters or chopboats can proceed to Whampoa, where they usually arrive on the evening of the second or morning of the third day. For a single boat the linguist receives a fee of twenty-three dollars; but if a permit be obtained for from two to six boats at a time, the fee for each boat is only 11 taels 2 mace 6 cand, or about 15½ dollars.

" When the goods are ready to be landed from or sent to the ship, the Hoppo sends a domestic, a writer, and a police runner; the hong merchant who has secured the ship sends a domestic, called a court-going man (one who attends at the public offices, on ordinary occasions, in behalf of his master); and the linguist sends an accountant and interpreter, to attend at the examination of the goods. The hong merchants are always held responsible by the government for paying all duties, whether on imports or exports, in foreign

vessels; and therefore when goods are purchased, it is customary for the parties, before fixing the price, to arrange between themselves who is *actually* to pay the duties. The Hong merchants are required to consider the duties to be paid to government as the most important part of their affairs. If any merchant cannot pay at the proper period, his Hong and house and all his property are seized by government, and sold to pay the amount; and if all that he possesses be inadequate, he is sent from prison into banishment at Ele, in Western Tartary, which the Chinese call the 'cold country,' and the body of Hong merchants are commanded to pay in his stead."

Names of Native Officers.

TSUNG-TUK or ISONTOCK is "governor-general" or viceroy of Canton and Quangsee.

TSEANG-KEUN is the highest military officer, and always a Tartar.

FÒO-YUEN is the second civil officer, and acts in concert with the viceroy, and takes his place when absent.

HOPPO is the commissioner, whose duty it is to oversee foreign commerce. He is always appointed from the imperial household.

AN-CHA-SZEE is the criminal judge.

POO-CHING-SZEE has the charge of the revenue.

LEANG-TAOU superintends the government stores.

YEN-YUN-SYE is a commissioner whose duty it is to attend the salt department.

QUANG-CHOW-FOO is the mayor of Canton city, and has control over various districts called *Hëen.*

NAM-HAE-HEEN is the civil officer of the district in which the European factories stand.

PWANJEE-HEEN, is the officer of the district in which Whampoa is situate.

HEANG-SHAN-HEEN is the officer of the district in which Macao is situate.

KEUN-MIN-FOO is appointed to observe what is doing on the coast, grants pilots to ships, &c.

WEI-YUEN is an official messenger of no determinate rank.

KINCHAE, or YAMCHAE, is an imperial commissioner sent on a special emergency to examine into cases that occur.

TSOTANG is an assistant to the officers of Hëen.

The English* East-India Company, under the charter granted to them by Elizabeth in 1600, directed their course first to the continent of India, whence they pursued their route to Bantam on the island of Java, where they formed a factory, which was for some time their principal station for carrying on their intercourse with the eastern A.D. 1600.

* The term *English* is used to distinguish the Company from the Dutch, French, and Swedish companies.

islands and with China. They also fixed an establishment at FIRANDO, in the kingdom of JAPAN.*

In the infancy of their trade with China, which was attempted both from Firando and Tywan, they experienced the determined hostility of the Dutch, who not only opposed them by open measures of competition, but stirred up the hatred of the Chinese against British sujects, by pretending to be English, carrying English colours, and as such attacking and capturing the Chinese trading junks.

A.D. 1615. Differences with the Dutch.

The differences between the English and Dutch companies in India had risen to such a height, that it was found necessary to take measures at home for the purpose of effecting a pacification. After sundry fruitless conferences at London and at the Hague, in the years 1613 and 1615, a third congress was held by commission from the King of England and the States-General, in the presence of certain deputies from each company, when a treaty, called the "treaty of defence," was agreed upon, consisting of thirty articles, by the 26th of which "the two companies were jointly to endeavour to open a free trade to China."

Neither this treaty, nor the fear of reprisals,

* An interesting narrative of the first English settler at Firando, in Japan, will be found at the close of this volume.

nor a sense of the friendship which subsisted between England and the States-general, could restrain the avidity of the Dutch Company, or render them equitable in their proceedings towards their allies. Impatient to have the sole possession of the spice trade, which the English then shared with them, they assumed a jurisdiction over the English factory at Amboyna, which terminated so fatally. The news of that event reached England at the moment when James the First was obliged to make a breach with Spain, which constrained him, after some vain remonstrances, to submit to this indignity from the Dutch, whose alliance had become so necessary to this nation.

Formosa and Amoy.

The Company succeeded in maintaining their factories already established at Tywan and on Formosa, and in securing an opening at Amoy. Formosa is described as rich in produce, and it is stated that British articles imported from the province of Fuh-keen, in Chinese junks, sell well. The colonists are prone to rebellion, and the accounts of last year announced them to be in a very refractory state. Amoy, in the province of Fuh-keen, has increased in wealth as Formosa has become colonized, that island supplying Amoy and the adjacent coast with rice.

The ENGLISH COMPANY endeavoured to prosecute an intercourse with China through Canton by the aid of the Portuguese at Macao: but the

professed inability of the governor of Macao to admit the subjects of any other European nation without sanction from the court of Portugal, checked the enterprize.

The internal state of China had continued for a series of years unfavorable to commercial dealings.

The empire being harassed with constant wars, the English Company were obliged to confine their intercourse with the more Eastern settlements, under regulations and impositions from the local authorities, whose venal and corrupt disposition was manifested on every possible occasion.

The port regulations, such as measurage of ships, payment of customs, and sending on shore all guns, ammunition, and sails, were enforced with far more rigour at those ports than at any subsequent period at Canton.

A.D. 1622. The Dutch, in the latter part of the year 1622, having made an unsuccessful attack on Macao, retired to the Piscadores and built a fort, their object being to annoy the Chinese junks, and to force a trade with China.

The presidency at Bantam unfolded to the Court of Directors their views as to the course to be taken in approaching China, in order to open a trade at that time.

"Concerning the trade of China, three things are especially made known unto the world.

"The one is, the abundant trade it affordeth.

"The second is, that they admit no stranger into their country.

"The third is, that trade is as life unto the vulgar, which in remote parts they will seek and accommodate with hazard of all they have. Trade with China.

"In these three considerations it is easily conceived, how and where intercourse with that nation is to be expected; for it requireth no more care than to plant in some convenient place whither they may come, and then to give them knowledge that you are planted. A.D. 1622.

"This condemneth the Dutch, their long continued roamings upon the coast of the Chinese, where after much charge and trouble they saw their folly, and planted upon Formosa, a place not inconvenient in respect of nearness, but a barren haven, an open road, and inconvenient for shipping. Yet should we shew ourselves to trade there with the Dutch, it shall be guarded with those difficulties and infinite charges, as if it were a diamond mine.

"This hath occasioned us to be inquisitive concerning that commerce, how with most conveniency it may be accomplished; and so by conference with chiefs of those parts, we understand that none of their nation is publicly tolerated for foreign trade."

They then refer the Court to further information, acquired by private conference with the Chinese, and state the questions put and the answers received, as to the trade with China and Japan. Their whole tenor evinces the same A.D. 1627. As to trade with China.

A.D. 1627. spirit by which they are actuated at this day.

"1st Question. Whether the Emperor of China resides near the sea or within the land?

"Answer. He resideth within the land, seventy days' journey from these seas, in a city called Pequin, situate in 48 degrees towards the Tartarian borders, &c.

"2d Question. Whether our king might not send to visit him, and whether our king's people and shipping might not be permitted to have trade, and to pass and repass with safety?

"Answer. No people may be admitted to travel within the land; neither will the emperor admit converse or commerce with any prince or people. In some places that border on the coast or confines of other princes, there is trade tolerated by some inferior governors, yet unknown to the Emperor, and those with limitation; for their vessels, if on sea voyages, are proportioned for bigness not to exceed one hundred and fifty tons, their number of men allowed, and their time of absence prescribed. The like strictness is observed in the neighbourly land. Commerce by marts held for certain days, as in the suburbs, where strangers buy and sell by permission, and so depart.

"3d Question. What clothing is used in China, winter and summer, in the temperate parts, and where it is colder, as well for great persons

as gentlemen, soldiers, merchants, and inferiors? A.D. 1627.

"Answer. The usual clothing in China is silk and linen cloth, both winter and summer, in all parts and amongst all people. The state which they hold is in distinct ornaments for their several degrees, and in the number of garments which they usually wear, especially the nobility, gentlemen, and merchants, it being usual among them to wear six, eight, or ten vestments, one upon the other, which expresseth the greatest state, in their visitations; and in their houses they disrobe themselves, and hang two, three, or four of their garments on pins in the wall, &c.

"4th Question. What commodities are exported out of China?

"Answer. Resolved in particular before referred to.

"5th Question. What commodities are brought into China, or are wanted in China? and whether merchant strangers may not be permitted to bring in commodities and export commodities, coming peaceably like friends?

"Answer. In no part of the main is either trade or strangers admitted; yet in some places, as in islands bordering on the main, is trade tolerated, though not direct, but by governors underhand, exceedingly ample, for their country's plenty is so superfluous as they seem surfeited with all commodities, and trade is as their lives, as well to

unburthen themselves of their abundance, as to procure things they have not.

"6th Question. What coin is usual in China, gold or silver; and what is the different value of gold above silver; and which is most usual and current amongst the multitude?

"Answer. In China is no coin current, neither gold nor silver. The common people usually go to market with small pieces of silver sold by weight, which they proportion according to their measures. The rial of eight is there worth seven copongoes, thirty-six or forty whereof will buy a rial weight of the purest gold."

A.D. 1635—1637. Trade to Macao.

The COURT OF DIRECTORS informed the president of Surat, that they had received with much satisfaction the intelligence of a negotiation, which he had been carrying on with the governor of the Portuguese settlement of Goa for a treaty of peace between the two nations in India. In order to promote so desirable a result, the Court deemed it proper to make the same known to "the King's Majesty and State." The treaty was ultimately ratified by the King of Spain. In the interim, in consequence of a proposition from the viceroy at Goa, the ship London was permitted by the council at Surat, then the principal seat of the Company's trade, to be freighted in part by the Portuguese, in the expectation that it might lead to a more secure

opening for trade at the port of Canton. It being the first visit of an English ship to Macao, caution was given to avoid everything that might lead to a misunderstanding with the Chinese.

The ship reached Macao in July 1635. Considerable opposition was made by the governor to the supracargoes living on shore at that place, and the result of the voyage was by no means such as to encourage any hope at this period of securing an opening at Canton.

Although the Tartar dynasty was confirmed on the throne in 1640, a series of years elapsed before tranquillity was restored to the empire. These events combined with the establishment of Courteen's association, originally promoted and conducted by Captain Weddel in December 1635, accompanied by hostile proceedings at Canton, in which they were followed by the Dutch, who likewise opposed the Portuguese trade at the moment when the power of that nation had been greatly reduced in the East, made it impossible to prosecute, with any prospect of success, the trade either with Canton or China generally.

A.D. 1648. Company's reduced means from civil wars

The state to which the Company was reduced during the civil wars, rendered them unable to afford that support to their agents abroad, which was essential to the success of their endeavours to establish an intercourse with China. Their servants at Bantam in the month of January wrote home, that " the experiment which you

desire we should make with one of our small vessels for trade into China, we are certainly informed, by those that know the present state and condition of that country very well, cannot be undertaken without the inevitable loss both of ship, men, and goods; for as the Tartars overrun and waste all the inland country, without settling any government in the places which they overcome, so some of their great men in China, with a mighty fleet at sea of upwards of 1,000 sail of great ships (as is confidently reported) rob and spoil all the sea-coasts, and whatsoever vessels they can meet with; and how one of our feeble vessels would be able to defend themselves against such forces is easy to be supposed. As for the Portugals in Macao, they are little better than mere rebels against their viceroy in Goa, having lately murdered their captain-general, sent thither to them, and Macao itself so distracted amongst themselves, that they are daily spilling one another's blood. But put the case, all these things were otherwise, we must need say, we are in a very poor condition to seek out new discoveries, while you will not allow us either factors, shipping, or sailors, scarce half sufficient to maintain the trade already you have on foot; and therefore the Dutch but laugh at us, to see us meddle with new undertakings, being hardly able to support the old."

By the treaty between Oliver Cromwell and John the Fourth, king of Portugal, in 1654, free access was given to the subjects of the two nations to any of the ports of the East-Indies. The uncertain state of public affairs in England, and the forced loan by Cromwell of £50,000, being part of the sum of £85,000 awarded to the English Company, as a compensation from the Dutch Company in 1655; together with the ambiguous delay that occurred in the renewal of their charter, and the increase of private adventures, constrained them, instead of availing themselves of the opening with China through Macao, to curtail their efforts as well as their establishments abroad, and to prepare for winding up their concerns. The council of state, however, advised the Protector that the trade should be managed by a Joint Stock, and in October 1657 the charter under the broad seal was read in the General Court.

A.D. 1654. Treaty with Portugal.

The Dutch in 1654 obtained admission to Canton, but on the Emperor learning the fact he ordered them to be cut off.

Dutch at Canton.

Timely information from the governor enabled them to escape, but they were informed that they must never adventure there again. The Dutch were at that time aiding the Tartars against the Chinese, on the eastern coasts of the empire.

In this year another attempt was made by the English Company to prosecute the trade with

A.D. 1664. At Macao.

Canton. The supracargoes had succeeded in securing a house at Macao, from whence they hoped to proceed to Canton; but before any permission would be given for their entering upon trade, the Chinese required that the ships should be measured, and demanded 2,000 tales. This was refused, but 1,000 dollars were offered, which the Chinese rejected, stating "they would abate nothing." Eight musketeers were placed over the supracargoes' house to prevent their departure. The difficulties and embarrassments were such, as to preclude all hope of trade being successfully persevered in, and the supracargoes re-embarked and returned to Bantam.

Tartar government opposed to trade.

The indisposition of the Tartar government to countenance trade, rendered it almost impracticable to prosecute commercial dealings with the Chinese.

A.D. 1672. Tonquin.

An attempt was made at this period to establish a factory in the kingdom of Tonquin,* from whence

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* The kingdom of Tonquin is bounded on the north by the province of Yunnan in China; on the east by the province of Canton and bay of Tonquin; on the south by Cochin; and the west by the kingdom of Laos. It is twelve hundred miles in length and five hundred miles in breadth. Its independence was established in 1553, but it is now subject to Cochin China. A mission was sent from the Governor-general in 1821 to Siam and Cochin China, for the purpose of establishing a friendly intercourse and a free trade, but it was unsuccessful, little or no advantage being gained to our trade.

the factory at Bantam had been informed a valuable commerce could be carried on with Japan. The factory accordingly despatched a vessel, which reached the river of Tonquin on the 25th June. After passing the bar and ascending about fourteen miles up the river, they were stopped until permission had been obtained from one of the king's mandarins to advance towards Hien. This being accorded by Ung-ja-Thay, he with some soldiers came on board, and the vessel proceeded. The account of the passage is curious, as shewing the character and disposition of the people, and the little prospect there was of satisfactorily prosecuting the object for which the mission had been sent. It cannot be better described than in the words of the supracargo, who advised the agency at Bantam of the progress of the mission: A.D. 1672. Tonquin.

"In sailing up the river the ship several times touched, and the mandarin being this day aboard, pinioned the captain, and threatened to cut off the chief mate's head, because they would not tow the ship against a violent stream, which at last they were forced to try; but as soon as the anchor was up, the tide or current carried down the ship in spite of all help, so he was something appeased.

"We cannot tell how this action of the mandarin's can consist with a good corespondence hereafter. Were it not that we have respect to the Company's affairs, and that we would not be thought to impede their designs by any rashness

Tonquin. A.D. 1672.

of ours, we should have resisted any such affront, though we saw but little hopes of escaping, being so far up the river and our ship so full of soldiers. He told Mr. Gyfford that we must know we were come to a great country of great justice and government, and that if we would do all things that he would have us it should be well for us, and these words he wrote down upon a paper in China characters, and bade him keep and remember it.

" Mr. Gyfford said we were very willing, being strangers, to be observant to their customs and laws, but such unreasonable impositions as these, of forcing a ship to go against wind and tide, and putting such dishonour upon us as to pinion the captain, seemed very strange to us, and therefore we desired no other favour from him than leave to go back again, for we believed our honourable employers would not trade here upon such terms. The mandarin answered, that while we were out we might have kept out. The king was king of Tonquin before we came there, and would be after we departed, and that this country had no need of any foreign thing ; but now we are within his power we must be obedient thereto, comparing it to the condition of a married woman, who can blame no one but herself for being brought into bondage.*

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* We presume that the Persian estimate of the felicity of the nuptial state had not travelled so far east as Tonquin at that period:

" When the breeze of autumn advanced into the rose-garden,

So that we can perceive as yet but a very little affection they have for trade. Tonquin. A. D. 1672.

" Discoursing with Ung-ja-Thay of our intentions to settle a factory, he said little to it, only shewed us the king's chop authorizing him to receive us. He says likewise he has power over ship and goods; so it seems he is absolute, and will, as he says, take out what he pleases: to which we must submit, for it is impossible to get a ship back over the bar, by reason of the shoalness of the water and the contrary winds; we are therefore compelled to give him his way in all things. His soldiers and secretaries always keeping on board, are a great charge to us, for he calls for wine at his pleasure and gives it amongst them, forcing them and our seamen to drink full cups.

" Much ado we had to put off Ung-ja-Thay from making the seamen work on the sabbath day, for we told him before-hand that it was not our custom to work on that day, for God com-

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garden, and the chill wind stretched forth its hand to scatter the gold coins of the vine,(a) the king's world-embellishing mind determined that the chaste and recluse beauty (the description of whom has been before traced by the strokes of the musk-scented pen) should be exalted by the honour of cohabitation with the splendid new moon of the heaven of glory and brilliancy, the bright morn of the horizon of greatness and prosperity, Prince Muhammed Aly Mirza."

(a) The leaves of the vine turn to a golden hue before they fall in autumn.

Tonquin. A. D. 1672.

manded us to the contrary, who was greater than all the kings and princes of the earth.

"The ship ran ashore again at high water, and the captain could not bring her off, so the mandarin, thinking himself wiser than him or his mate, in this extremity made the seamen work night and day till they were nearly exhausted, and would have the ship hauled off by force, which to please him we tried, but to no purpose, for she presently swayed, so we fear we must of necessity stay here this spring. We now looked very solitary one upon another, and began to think that his extraordinary earnestness to get the ship further up the river was to give him a better opportunity to ransack us, which makes us esteem our condition no better than that of a prize."

They had but a sorry prospect of commercial dealings, and as little reason to congratulate themselves on the liberality of the presents from his Majesty. "About noon Ung-ja-Thay went away and sent us word we should come up to the city, that we might know what prices the king would give us for our goods, and that we might take a starved bull of a small size which he brought as part of the present from the king, but would not deliver it before now, nor hath not the remainder yet, which he told us was 50,000 great cashies, nor the king's chop. About two o'clock we embarked on board the galley

that waited to carry us up, and went on our journey to the city with longing expectation to know what prices he would make upon our goods, for we were not admitted to make a price ourselves; but about two miles off the other mandarin who commanded the gallies, Ung-ja-Thay, that villainous fellow staid for us, and invited us ashore, for he had got before us to prevent our complaint to his superior, and while we were there present he colleagued with us most abominably, now he had done us the most prejudice he could in carrying away all the goods that would have yielded us any profit, and then would have us to be cheerful, like a conqueror who would have his prisoners to be merry when he lost all he hath."

On the 12th August the ship took in ballast on her return. The whole appears to have been an unprofitable voyage. Some Tonquinese soldiers having been placed over the factory which the supracargoes occupied at Hien, they remonstrated for the purpose of getting them removed, as the merchants would not come while they were there. The governor replied, "that he did not set a guard to keep the merchants from us, but for his honour sake to secure us from robbery and fire." To an old Padré who had informed them of the customs of the country they gave six bottles of sack. Both natives and Europeans appear to have appreciated the produce of the cellar.

The articles of traffic are then described.

Tonquin. A.D. 1672.

"Yellow cloth is not a colour vendible here; reds, blues, and green will sell; the reds most. We would have two-thirds of the cloth you send in reds, besides a bale of fine scarlet, and black cloth about £21 the half-piece. It will be proper to send a proportion of the following goods yearly. Pepper; English cloth and stuffs, red, blue, and green; saltpetre, brimstone, guns, muskets, cast shot. Pepper being a staple commodity will sell to profit: all the rest are king's commodities, but he gives a profit upon them. The king allows the Dutch for saltpetre 10 tael per pecul, brimstone 4 tael, shot 3 tael, guns 200 tael each, but he gives us only 180; but we intend to petition for more. It is not convenient to send much goods hither. Principally send what pieces of eight you can, for the life of this trade is money; and unless the most part of the Company's stock sent hither be in money, this factory cannot yield profit."

On the 25th September, "The mandarin told us, that near by about three o'clock there was a gentleman to be beheaded, and several of his servants to have their hands cut off, who in the king's absence had asserted a pretended title to the kingdom and raised a considerable number of people. We were spectators of the execution. The principal suffered without the least apparent fear of death, sitting upon a green bank without any thing before him to conceal the executioner pre-

paring for the stroke. Next day several others were to suffer for the same cause.

The communication was carried on, and a factory maintained in Tonquin until 1697, when the trade was found to be so unprofitable, and the difficulty of prosecuting it so great, that all further intercourse was abandoned.

Canton. A.D. 1681.

The Court's attention was particularly directed to the securing a trade with Canton. The two points upon which they desired information were:

1st. Whether there was reason to believe that the sanction of the supreme authority could be obtained for free access to that port; and 2dly. Whether the people at Amoy, with whom a profitable traffic was carried on, but who were opposed to the Tartars, might not take umbrage and exclude them from further intercourse, on learning of their resort to Canton.

Ships direct from England.

The Company had hitherto carried on the China trade in country vessels, engaged by the council at Bantam; but in consequence of the high rate of freight, they determined to employ ships direct from England, as well for the India as for the China trade.

A.D.1681. Surat to superintend China trade.

Amoy having been taken by the Tartars, the four ships sent thither by the Company proceeded to Macao. In the following year the Company, anticipating serious differences with the Dutch in Java, determined to transfer the superintendence

Bantam captured by Dutch.

of the China ships from Bantam to the council at Surat. It is a singular fact, that the letter of the Court communicating their determination, bears date only twenty-one days after Bantam had been actually captured by the Dutch.*

A.D. 1681.

This arrangement had its inconveniences, owing to the distance of Surat from China as compared with Bantam. It was, however, forced upon the Court amidst a choice of difficulties, and was intended to be only temporary. It was embraced under an anticipation of the impending danger, and averted the mischief which would have befallen the China ships of the season, had they been consigned as usual to Bantam.

Financial pressure.

A great pressure at this period was felt at home from the general failure of credit in all the public funds.

A.D. 1683.

The Court wrote on the 2d April 1683: "The loss of Bantam to the Dutch and the Johanna outward-bound to your place, with her stock of £70,000, most bullion, but more especially an extraordinary and unparalleled failure of credit in all the public funds of this city, which hath caused the failure of divers of the goldsmiths in Lombard-street, whose names possibly you may have an account of in private letters: this unusual occurrence did so affright all people, that many demanded at once their money at interest from

* This capture was made on the 30th August 1682.

the Company, to satisfy whom we were necessi- A.D. 1683.
tated to publish these three following resolutions.

" 1st. That all money arising from March sale should entirely be disposed of towards the satisfying of the Company's debts.

" 2d. That no bullion should be sent out upon our ships till all the Company's debts due by or before the 31st March were fully satisfied.

" 3d. That the Company would make no dividend of any money or goods to the adventurers till all the debts now owing by them were fully paid."*

* This effect on public credit was occasioned not only by the ambiguous conduct of King Charles, who was covertly acting in concert with France while the nation was urging him to adopt a decided course of hostility towards that power, but likewise from the course which he observed towards Parliament, in refusing to summon it when petitioned by the nation for that purpose, and after it had met, dissolving it again almost immediately. The effects produced more directly on the interests of the city were caused by his interference in the election of sheriffs, and the issuing a writ of *quo warranto* against the city for the purpose of inquiring into the validity of its charter. In the course of the process the judges condemned the city. Their conduct was strongly animadverted upon; but it was observed, that as the office of judge was at that time held during pleasure, it was impossible that any cause where the court exerted its power, could ever be carried against it. Hence the inestimable value which is attached to that constitutional act of King George the Third, who on his accession declared the judges to be independent of the crown.

The charter of the city was restored by Charles, on condition that no mayor or sheriff should be admitted to the exercise of office without the king's approbation.

A.D. 1686. In 1686 the Company restricted teas and spices from forming part of the imports in private trade on account of their servants, and in the following year, in their instructions to Surat and Bombay, ordered "that very good tea might be put up in the tutenague pots, and well or closely packed in chests or boxes, as it will always turn to account here, now it is made the Company's commodity, whereas before there were so many sellers that the tea would hardly yield half its cost; and some trash *thea* from Bantam was forced to be thrown away, or sold for fourpence or sixpence per pound."

Measurage of Ships. A.D. 1689. The question of the measurage of the ships became a matter of difficulty. Captain Heath, of the ship Defence, at Canton, wrote as follows: "Having been solicited for the last fortnight, the Hoppo at length came on board to measure the ship. After a hot dispute and a bribe to the measurers, got the Hoppo's consent to measure her from before the mizen-mast to the after part of the fore-mast, which otherwise would be from stem to stern, and amount to a vast sum; her length ninety-four coveds, and breadth twenty-three and a-half coveds. The Hoppo could not tell what they were to pay till he called his council. On

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Most of the corporations of England, having the example of London before their eyes, surrendered their charters, and only obtained a renewal on payment of a considerable sum of money to the crown.

the 17th they went ashore to the Hoppo, when he demanded 2,484 tales for measurage, which they told him they would never pay, and would depart rather than comply. On the 24th the measurage, *viz.* 1,500 tale, was paid the Hoppo, the 300 tale being for himself and officers. A.D. 1689.

A native having been killed by the sailors of the Defence, some of her seamen were cut down and the doctor of the ship mortally wounded by the Chinese. The mandarins would not allow of the ship sailing without payment of 5,000 tales. Captain Heath offered 2,000, which not being accepted, he left Canton. Death of a Chinese.

As tea paid a duty of five shillings per pound, the Company desired that none might be sent, but of the very best quality, otherwise it would not defray either freight or charges. It was to be carefully packed, and to be stowed so as not to imbibe any scent or smell. A.D. 1690.

In order to lessen the exportation of silver from England to India, the Court instructed their supracargoes to forward to Madras from China £20,000 in gold. A.D. 1700.

The trade to China on the union of the two companies was not confined to one port; but one ship was sent to Limpo or Chusan and Bengal, and if unable to reach Chusan, to Amoy or Canton. Another was sent to Condore and Amoy, or to Canton and Surat; another to Condore, Amoy, and Mocha. A.D. 1702.

Emperor's merchant at Canton.
A.D. 1702.

At this early period of the Company's trade, an attempt was made by the Chinese authorities to carry on the whole of the commerce at Canton through one individual, termed the Emperor's merchant, who paid a considerable sum of money for the exclusive privilege of trading with all Europeans. This was one of the grievances which was most severely felt and protested against, not only by the other merchants but by the local authorities at Canton, who could not constrain him to pay higher duties than what the Emperor had fixed, whilst he charged what price he chose for various articles of traffic. The supracargoes hoped "that this *new monster in trade*" might be kept from doing them an injury that season.

A.D. 1704.

The Hoppo himself went on board the several ships to superintend his officers in the performance of their duty.

A gun fired from one of the vessels set fire to the sail of his boat, upon which the supracargoes remarked, "this accident, which upon another occasion would have been laid hold of by a wicked linguist to extort a sum of money, was passed over in silence, the guns being fired to compliment the Hoppo."

The incapacity of the Emperor's merchant for trade, caused a strong representation to be made to the Quang-choo-foo, who upon enquiry of the other merchants, ascertained that the Emperor's merchant had literally no goods, and that the

others were debarred selling things in consequence of his patent. The English having determined not to advance money, the Emperor's merchant agreed to let others participate in the trade, upon payment to him of nearly 5,000 tales per ship. A.D. 1704.

The origin of the four per cent. duty, which subsequently formed the subject of a remonstrance, is then described. Imposition of duties.

"It may not be amiss in this place to take notice, that this four per cent. is an imposition lately crept upon us by the submission of our predecessors the two preceding seasons. One per cent. of the four is what has been usually given by the Chinese merchants to the linguist upon all contracts, and the linguist was used to gratify the Hoppo out of this sum for his employment. The other three were first squeezed from the China merchant, as a gratuity for upholding some particular men in monopolizing all the business, and this used to be given in a lump, so that by undervaluing the goods, and concealing some part, they used to save half the charge; but to *shew how soon an ill precedent will be improved in China to our disadvantage*, the succeeding hoppos, instead of the persuasive arguments such as their predecessors used, are come to demand it as an established duty."

Gerardini, the celebrated Italian painter, arrived from Pekin at Canton, to embark for France on board one of the Company's ships. He had

A.D. 1704. come from the king of France about eight years since, in company with the Jesuits, to serve the Emperor, and help to keep up their interests. He passed all the time he had been in China in adorning the Emperor's palace; who was delighted with the novelty of the art, and would not part with him till he had "bred up six great men's sons" to be proficient in the same. Having obtained leave to go home, he came down to Canton with an order to the hoppo to send him away in the first ship with all expedition, which facilitated the dispatch of the Company's fleet, on which account the supracargoes promised him his passage.

Canton. A.D. 1715. In 1715 the intercourse with Canton had assumed somewhat of a regular trade. The ships were dispatched to China at stated seasons, and supracargoes were appointed to each ship, for the purpose of effecting the sale of the outward cargoes, and of investing the return proceeds in tea, silks, and other articles the produce of China.

The several supracargoes when in China were to live in one house, to keep but one table, and were all to meet in consultation at least twice a week when at Canton, to consult for the general benefit of the Company's affairs.

The usual course of proceeding on the arrival of the ships off Macao, was for the supracargoes to proceed to that city, for the purpose of as-

certaining how affairs stood at Canton, and whether they might proceed and do business with their ships in safety. A.D. 1715.

These points proving satisfactory, the ships proceeded to the Bocca Tigris, where some of the Hoppo's officers came on board. The supracargoes then intimated their intention of waiting upon the Hoppo, who invariably admitted them to a direct interview: at which, after compliments, they stipulated, through their linguist, for the observance of a series of articles, generally to the following purport:

Regulations stipulated for by Supracargoes.

"1st. They demanded a free trade with all people without restriction.

"2d. That they might entertain in their service what Chinese servants they pleased, and turn them away at their pleasure; and that if their English servants should commit any disorder or fault deserving punishment, the Chinese should not take upon them to punish, but should complain to the supracargoes, and they would see them sufficiently punished according to the crime.

"3d. That they should have liberty to buy all sorts of provisions and necessaries for their factory and ship, at their will.

"4th. That they should pay no custom or other duties for any goods they should bring on shore and not dispose of, and that they might ship them off again free of all duties. That they should

A.D. 1615. pay no duties for wine, beer, or other stores expended in their factory.

" 5th. That they should have liberty to set up a tent ashore, to mend and fit their casks, sails, and rigging, and other necessaries.

" 6th. That their boats should have liberty to pass the several custom-houses or boats as often as should be thought fit, without being called to or examined on any pretence whatsoever, when the British colours were hoisted, and that at no time their seamen's pockets should be searched.

" 7th. That their escrutoires and chests might be brought on shore into their factory, and be carried on board ship again on their departure, without being searched.

" 8th. That the Hoppo would protect them from all insults and impositions of the common people and mandarins, who were annually laying new duties and exactions which they were forbidden to allow of.

" 9th. That the four per cent. be taken off, and that every claim or demand the Hoppo had, should be demanded and determined the same time with the measurement of the ship."

As the supracargoes required these several privileges, the linguist signified the same to the Hoppo; who consented that all should be granted according to their request, excepting the last article, as to the remission of the four per cent. duty, which he could not agree to. The supracar-

goes represented that it was a great hardship and imposition, and that they must insist on it; but at last, finding all that they could say was to no purpose, they "let that argument drop." A.D. 1715.

Great difficulty was experienced at this time, from the merchants with whom the supracargoes dealt, having resolved to form themselves into one body, or Co-hong, for the purpose of agreeing upon the prices at which the goods should be sold to them. Co-hong formed. A.D. 1720.

In consequence of this measure, the supracargoes declined to wait on the mandarin at Whampoa, or to commence the trade, until the combination was abolished, and they were at liberty, as heretofore, to deal with whom they pleased. On the matter being represented to the Isontock, he summoned the heads of the merchants before him, and informed them, if they did not dissolve the Co-hong, he should find means to compel them.

The accidental death of the hoppo's officer near Whampoa, distant from Canton nearly fourteen miles, led to the seizure of the two mates of the Cadogan, and four of the inferior officers, as they were quietly walking the street near the factory at Canton, and soldiers were ready to seize any of the supracargoes who might come out of the factory. They were consequently advised to remain within doors. A.D. 1721.

A strong representation was made to the hoppo

A.D. 1721. by the supracargoes, who stated that, unless redress was immediately afforded, they should recommend the Company to remove their commercial dealings from Canton to some other port.

The determination evinced by the supracargoes, and the apprehension of the local authorities that they might lose the trade, produced a good effect. The mandarin who committed the affront was degraded from his office (the command of 1,000 men), and a promise was given that he should be bambooed and rendered incapable of being again admitted into the Emperor's service.

The supracargoes observed, "that they thought it absolutely necessary to carry the point, for as they were encroached upon every year and the trade of the place was rendered more difficult, they took that occasion to put a stop to the growing insults, which might otherwise have come to extermination."

A.D. 1722. The Court of Directors, in their orders to the supracargoes as to the liberty of trade, stated: "this article is likely to be more necessary and strenuously to be insisted on now than ever, for our last returned supracargoes have brought us a draft of the combination which the Chinese were forming to set their own prices on the goods to be sold Europeans, thereby to have their proportions of the real profit on the said goods, whoever appeared to be the seller."

The gunner's mate of the King George, from

Madras, coming up in the long-boat, fired at a bird in a paddy-ground where a boy was reaping, who unfortuately received a mortal wound. Every assistance in order to adjust the affair was given by the supracargoes, but the parties belonging to the vessel were obliged to pay them 2,000 tales, of which the parents had 350. Although the gunner's mate had been cleared in point of form, they still met with great difficulty; for the Isontock, under a pretence that the Foo-yuen and Nam-hae-heen had concerted the business "in prejudice to the honour of the Emperor," in consequence the Hoppo would not deliver the grand chop, "notwithstanding they had paid all their dues." Chinese wounded. A.D 1722.

Intimation having been made to the supracargoes at Canton, on the 14th June, that the Isontock intended to send his lieutenant on board, to see what guns, small arms, powder, and shot were on board the Walpole, the supracargoes stated that it had never been done before; when it was arranged that the officer should merely come on board. A mandarin accordingly went and looked upon eight or ten small arms that lay upon the quarter-deck table, "behaved very complaisant, and went away well satisfied." A.D. 1722 2?.

The vexatious impositions which appear to have been attempted by the local authorities at Canton on the supracargoes, induced them to A.D. 1727. Restrictions on trade.

A.D. 1727. address a letter to the head merchant, intimating that the additional hardships put upon the merchants by the mandarins every year had determined them, if possible, not to trade any more with Canton, but to proceed to Amoy.

The Hoppo agreeing to the points urged by the supracargoes, *viz.* that neither they nor the merchants whom they dealt with should pay more duties, either for ship's measurage or goods inwards, than what was set down in the Emperor's book, the trade was continued.

A.D. 1728. Additional duties.

In the following year an additional duty of ten per cent. being laid on all goods sold by the merchants, the supracargoes strongly remonstrated, and resolved to have a personal interview with the Isontock. They accordingly determined to go in chairs unaccompanied by their linguist, and without letting the merchants know any thing of their design. The Madras, Bombay, and French gentlemen then at Canton joined them. The chairmen were ordered to carry them directly to the Isontock's residence. As they expected, they were stopped at the city gates. They then quitted their chairs, and demanded to speak with the Isontock. The guards told the Chinese servants who were with the supracargoes that they must have their linguist, but the supracargoes desired to be shewn the house. Being eleven in number they did not apprehend any resistance, and they accordingly persevered till they saw the Isontock,

Europeans proceed to the Isontock.

and gave to the chungya (one of his officers) the address, which the Isontock received and read cursorily. They were told that they should deal with responsible merchants and pay the customs. The supracargoes desired liberty to address the Isontock when they suffered under grievances. A.D. 1728.

Partial relief was afforded at times by appeals to the authorities, but still the system of imposition was proceeded in.

Another instance occurred, in which the supracargoes sought an interview with the Isontock, and repaired to the city for that purpose, but were only admitted to the guard-house immediately within the gates. They ultimately broke through the guard and proceeded to the second gates, which after some delay were opened and the haya accompanied them to the Isontock's. When they arrived they staid some time for admittance, and at last did not see the Isontock himself but the Chungya, a considerable mandarin, whom he had ordered to attend and hear them. On their coming into his presence he was, or pretended to be, angry at their manner of application, and coming without a linguist. Interview with Chungya.

The Chungya directed them then to send for their linguist. They replied, he would not come on their message, though he must if he would give his command to him! Upon which the Chungya sent orders to the linguist, when it was discovered that he and the merchants were all the

A.D. 1728. while within. On the supracargoes representing their complaint, the Chungya took the part of the merchants, "and gave them but rough treament." Among other things, when they told him that the uncorrected abuses of the merchants would not only oblige the Company to abandon the article of silk (then complained of), but their trade in general to Canton, he answered "they might go if they please; other ships would come." He called their application to him for justice, "troubling him with a trifling affair." They said, they only came to that country as merchants, and (as such) abuses in their trade were to them great things. He told the supracargoes, when they had any thing to say, "they must apply to the merchants to get them a hearing." The supracargoes answered, that "as their grievances came from the merchants, how could it be supposed that they (with the linguist ever in their interest and under their direction) would become instruments in any just accusation against themselves: their present case witnessed they would not; what methods could they then adopt to obtain justice?" To that, and indeed many other things, he made no reply. The supracargoes asked a chop for themselves and the captains, that they should have unmolested entrance into the city, and thereby free recourse to justice. This was absolutely refused, and they were told the Emperor had ordered that no stranger

should have that liberty. When they insisted on the fault of the linguist in not obeying their orders, by asking admittance for them to the Isontock, the Chungya seemed to excuse him. Minutes were made of the representations of the supracargoes and the persons complained of; which done, the supracargoes were told to withdraw till he had communicated the affair to the Isontock. He returned in about half an hour, and told the supracargoes he would order the merchants to agree with them, and make what abatement was reasonable on such silks as were worse than their contract, and particularly for want of weight; "but he bid them never trouble "him again on such trifling occasions," and thus they were dismissed. A.D. 1728.

The supracargoes continued their representations to the court of Pekin to obtain a remission of the ten per cent. duty.

In the month of October the supracargoes supported the captain of one of the ships in refusing to have his boat searched which had the flag of the captain on board, according to agreement with the Hoppo. A.D. 1730.

In June the supracargoes, with a view to obtain an assurance of their privileges, ordered the ships to remain outside the Bocca Tigris. The Hoppo, through the merchants, desired to know why they did so; supposing it to be by some "Chinaman's" advice. The supracargoes distinctly disavowed A.D. 1732. Ships detained outside.

this, and stated it was by their own desire. The privileges were granted as usual, and the ships measured.

A.D. 1734. Interview with the Isontock.

The trade with Amoy could not be attempted with success. In the month of November in this year the supracargoes went into the city, and obtained, after considerable trouble and delay, an interview with the Isontock on the subject of the silks and duties; also as to the 1950 tales.

A.D. 1736. Kien Lung.

The emperor Kien Lung (to whom Lord Macartney's embassy was subsequently sent) succeeded to the throne this year. He issued an edict abolishing the ten per cent. duty, but insisting that upon the ships arriving at Whampoa, all their cannon, arms, &c. should be deposited in the hands of the mandarins.

His edict.

The terms of this edict manifested a great desire to do justice. On the occasion of its being announced, the Europeans were summoned to attend and join with the natives in prostrating themselves, and kneeling when it was read.

To this neither the supracargoes nor any of the Europeans would submit. The publication of it in the manner originally proposed was waived. Considerable presents were made to the Isontock, not only as an acknowledgment of his services in procuring the reduction of the ten per cent. duty, but also in expectation that the order as to the

delivery of the guns, ammunition, &c. might be dispensed with.

In this year renewed but ineffectual efforts were made to obtain a remission of the 1950 taels beyond the measurage duty, but it may be inferred by the postscript to a letter from the supracargoes, dated in January 1738, that the object as to the guns, &c. had been obtained. "We have heard nothing more about the guns, and the government has been very easy in all respects." A.D. 1737. Ten per cent. duty.

In this year it appears the Foo-yuen made unsuccessful efforts to abridge the privilege enjoyed by Europeans at Canton, by obliging each pinnace to call at the Hoppo's houses, and that goods should be weighed on board after shipment, as well as previously at the factories. A.D. 1741.

In the month of November his Majesty's ship Centurion, the first instance of a King's ship resorting to China, with the celebrated officer Commodore Anson on board, arrived off Macao, to refit and obtain provisions. Some difference occurring from its being contrary to the Chinese law that ships of war should enter the river, the commodore determined to proceed to Canton in a Chinese boat; but as he was on the eve of embarking, the Hoppo, or Chinese custom-house officer, refused to grant him a permit, and ordered the watermen to proceed at their peril. The commodore told the Hoppo, that unless a permit came down the next day, he would arm the Centurion's Commodore Anson arrives in China.

A.D. 1741. boats and proceed up the river in defiance of the Chinese. The permit was accordingly granted.

Proceeds to Canton. The commodore went to Canton, where he had an interview with the supracargoes, and was only induced to refrain from demanding an audience of the viceroy upon a representation that the British trade might be put to hazard by such a step. The chop for a supply of provisions was granted. It being necessary to repair a leak which it was supposed had been sprung in the Centurion, great delay occurred in obtaining the necessary authority from the Chinese officers at Canton for laying the ship down; but when it was granted, every aid was afforded by the Chinese themselves in the supplies of junks, &c. for the purpose.

The Centurion after refitting went to sea, with the view of intercepting the valuable Spanish ship bound annually from Acapulco and Manilla to Lisbon. She was captured, and the prize taken into the river of Canton. The difficulties which had before occurred were increased on this occasion, by the customary duties being demanded for the Centurion and her prize. The commodore would not hear of such a demand being enforced, and repaired with his boat's crew in their dress jackets to Canton, where he was

A.D. 1742. visited by the principal Chinese merchants. At the instance of the supracargoes he was induced to engage not to take any immediate step for gaining admittance to the viceroy, provided

the Chinese would let him see " that his bread was baked, his meat salted, and his stores prepared with the utmost dispatch;" but if, when all was ready to be shipped off, the merchants should not have procured the government's permission to ship the same on board, he was determined to apply to the viceroy in person. Notwithstanding the apparent equity of these conditions, many difficulties and objections were urged, nor would the Chinese agree till the commodore had consented to pay for every article he bespoke before it was put on board! A.D. 1742.

Delays having occurred in shipping the stores, the Commodore sent a letter by one of his officers demanding an audience of the viceroy. Two days only had elapsed after writing this letter when a fire broke out at Canton, which destroyed one hundred shops and eleven streets of warehouses, and was only checked by the efforts of the Commodore and the seamen of his ship. In consequence of these signal services the viceroy appointed the 30th November for an interview, at which the Commodore alluded to the delays that had occurred in his obtaining an audience and also the supplies; he likewise pointed out the vexatious impositions to which the British merchants were subjected in their trade, and hoped that the viceroy would give orders that the same should not hereafter occur. To this no direct reply was given. After some time had elapsed,

Commodore's interview with viceroy.

A.D. 1742. the interpreter stated that he did not believe any reply would be given. The audience closed by the viceroy wishing the Commodore a prosperous voyage to Europe.

A.D. 1747. Notwithstanding the repeated appeals and frequent representations from the supracargoes, the impositions and embarrassments increased. The supracargoes had been for several years refused access to the Hoppo, which put it in the power of the merchants to allege, that the mandarins were the cause of all their exactions and difficulties.

On the occasion of a mandarin of high rank coming down to the ships on duty in the month of August, the supracargoes requested that he would procure for them an audience of the Isontock, who acted also as Hoppo, in order that they might lay before him a complaint of the port charges which were inconsistent with the emperor's edict of 1736.

An affair, however, occurred at the moment, which not only defeated the expectation of an interview with the Isontock, but involved the supracargoes in fresh difficulties with the local authorities.

Fresh difficulties. On the alleged refusal of an officer to allow his escrutoire to be examined by one of the Hoppo's officers on embarking from the factory, the supracargoes' linguist was put in chains; and although every reasonable satisfaction was offered, nothing short of the officers being delivered up would

induce them to allow the trade to be commenced, or the linguist to be released. To this proposition the supracargoes assured the merchants that, whatever might be the consequence, they would never consent. The merchants proposed that the supracargoes should accompany them to the Isontock's. On their way they were detained at the first Hoppo's house, being nearest to the Isontock's, but were not permitted to see the latter. The trade was interrupted for a time, and through the duplicity of the merchants, the supracargoes were denied access to the officers. The supracargoes stated, that unless the trade should be placed upon a better footing it would be impracticable for Europeans to carry it on. A.D. 1747.

In this year the Court authorized the supracargoes to expend such a sum as they might see fit in endeavouring to obtain for the trade relief from exactions. A.D. 1751.

Ineffectual attempts were again made to obtain a remission of the 1950 tales and other port charges. A.D. 1752.

The Court anxiously endeavoured to re-open a trade at Limpo, and gave particular instructions as to the course of proceeding. Mr. Flint, who had been appointed linguist to the factory at Canton, was ordered to accompany the mission to Limpo. With the view of promoting the acquisition of the Chinese language, the Court sent out two young men to study it at Canton at the Company's expense. A.D. 1753.

A.D. 1754. Additional grievances.

In this year, such were the grievances of which the supracargoes complained, that they determined to prevent any more of the ships coming up to Whampoa. On this being intimated to the Isontock, he instructed the Hoppo to give the supracargoes all the assistance in his power, and stated that he should be ready to hear any complaints which they might feel it necessary to make.

Security merchants.

A discussion took place at the same time with reference to the practice of naming security merchants for each ship, a practice which, it was stated, had not existed above twenty years, and to which the merchants themselves very strongly objected, as they thereby became responsible to the government for the duties and customs on all the goods imported in such ships, whether purchased by the security merchant himself or any other person. In like manner, he was also accountable for the duties on export cargoes, and he became subject to demands for curiosities brought out in the ship; so that he was either impoverished, or the Company charged excessive prices for the commodities of trade.

Interview with Isontock.

An interview was obtained with the Isontock on the 29th July, who received the supracargoes very courteously, but refused to give them a written answer to their application that the merchants might be released from security; and on the 9th August two merchants were named for each ship,

notwithstanding their entreaties to be excused; A.D. 1754.
but they were informed, any deficiency would be levied upon the whole body.

At this time seamen were permitted by the local authorities to land and walk within certain limits on Dane's Island.

In the following year some edicts were published, which although containing points favourable to the European trade, confined all dealings to the Hong merchants, and excluded small merchants and shop-keepers. A.D. 1755.

On an appeal to the Isontock an edict was issued, allowing the trade with shop-keepers *in small matters*, and they were to become jointly and separately security for the duties of the whole number. The people from the ships were interdicted from shooting with fowling-pieces, and the commanders and officers, when at Canton, were to come directly to the Factory.

The subject of security merchants was again discussed, but no relief obtained.

This closes the period to which trade was permitted with the eastern ports of the Chinese empire.

CHAPTER V.

Emperor restricts Trade to Canton.—Imprisonment of Mr. Flint.—King's Ships in China.—Death of a Chinese, and serious differences with local Authorities.—Supracargoes to reside permanently—Their Power over British Subjects.

A.D. 1757. Trade restricted to Canton.

In this year the Emperor determined to confine the foreign trade to Canton. In order to effect this object, he not only prohibited Europeans resorting to Chusan, Limpo, or Amoy, but imposed double duty at each of those places, and rigorously enforced the landing of guns, arms, ammunition, and sails.

The local officers at Canton had considerable influence with the authorities at Pekin, and as they had experienced the advantages derived from the increase of the foreign trade, they were naturally anxious to monopolize it.

Previously to the knowledge of this order reaching England, the Court of Directors had determined, as already observed, on attempting a more regular trade with Limpo and Chusan. For this purpose they sent out particular instructions to the supracargoes to prosecute a voyage to those ports, and joined in the mission Mr. Flint, then in China, upon whose representation the plan was carried into execution.

The project met with strong opposition at Canton from the Isontock, who was stated to have a decided preference for the "*Cantoneers.*" A.D. 1757.

Mr. Flint was to obtain leave to reside some time at Nankin, accompanied by Thomas Bevan, who had been sent out in 1753 by the Company to learn the language. He was to direct his attention to trade in general, but more particularly to the article of silk.

Some large looking-glasses had been provided as presents for the Emperor, and were to be landed at Limpo; but the Court having received advice stating the little prospect there was of prosecuting the trade successfully, abstained from sending any ships.

A vessel had been dispatched there in 1757 with Mr. Flint as supracargo; but he could not get even a supply of common necessaries, still less carry on any trade.

A.D. 1759. Isontock desires to see Mr. Flint.

On the 6th December 1759 the Isontock at Canton desired to see Mr. Flint, who had returned from his mission, for the purpose of communicating to the supracargoes the Emperor's orders relating to the Company's affairs. The supracargoes desired to accompany him into the city, which was allowed. On arriving at the Isontock's palace, the merchants proposed their going in one at a time. The supracargoes said, that as it was on the Company's affairs, and Mr. Flint being summoned, they must all be present. After some altercation,

A.D. 1758. they imagined it to be agreed upon that they should go together. Upon hearing Mr. Flint called they also went, and were received by a mandarin at the first gate, and proceeded through two courts with seeming complaisance from the officers in waiting. On coming to the gate of the inner court of the palace, their swords were taken from them; they were then hurried on (even forced) to the Isontock's presence, and under pretence of compelling them to pay homage after the Chinese custom, they were at last thrown down; when the Isontock, seeing the supracargoes resolute, and determined on no account to submit to their base humiliations, ordered his people to desist. He then desired Mr. Flint to advance to him, when he pointed to an order which he said was the Emperor's edict, for his banishment to Macao for three years, at the expiration of which he was to return to England, never more to visit China. This punishment was to be inflicted on him for his going to Limpo, after his imperial majesty had positively ordered that no ship should trade there. It was stated, that the man who confessed to have written the petition in Chinese (which Mr. Flint carried with him and delivered at Tien Sing), was to be beheaded that day for treacherously encouraging such a step.

Ill-treatment of supracargoes.

Unanimous protest against conduct of local authorities.

On the 9th December, the French, Danes, Swedes, and Dutch, met at the English factory,

where they agreed to tell the merchants, who were then present, that all nations protested against the Isontock for his behaviour to the Company's supracargoes on the 6th, and that they "should acquaint their different companies of his unwarrantable proceedings, when they doubted not of a method being found out, and measures taken to make it known to the Emperor, who they were convinced would avenge the affront put upon them, as they were fully persuaded he was well disposed to favour them." A.D. 1759.

Mr. Flint was kept in close confinement at a place within a league of Macao, the Chinese not permitting letters to pass between him and the supracargoes, and was not released until November 1762, nearly three years from the period of his first imprisonment.

A.D. 1760. Mission from Court to Canton.

The Court determined to send out a special mission, in order to settle the differences which had arisen between the Chinese and supracargoes, who could not with propriety present any address from the Court to the authorities at Canton, since the attempt to trade with Limpo. The person chosen for the purpose was Captain Skottowe, commander of the Company's ship Royal George.

He was charged with a letter from the Court of Directors to the Isontock.

In the hints drawn out for the conduct of that officer, he was not to be seen in the shops or purchasing china-ware. That in any goods

A.D. 1760. he might wish to purchase, he was to send for the merchants and not to go after them, and never to appear in undress in the streets, or at home when he received visits.

He was to be called *Mr.* Skottowe, not *Captain*, and it was to be given out that he was the brother to his Majesty's under secretary of state, who had the honour to write the King's letters.*

The Court's address requested the liberation of Mr. Flint, who they stated was a British subject as well as a servant of the Company; and after expressing their mortification at their exclusion from Limpo, pointed out the exactions and grievances from which they desired relief, *viz.*

Greivances pointed out.

1st. The 1950 tales.

2d. The six per cent. on imports, and the two per cent. on all silver paid the Hoppo.

3d. To be allowed to pay their own duties, and not through the merchants who are styled securities, whom they charged with applying it to their own purposes.

4th. That the Hoppo should always hear the representations of the supracargoes, and that an appeal might be made by them direct to the Isontock.

The result of the mission was in no way satisfactory, not one of the points being conceded.

A.D. 1762. The Court adverted to this in 1762, and to the

* Captain Skottowe's brother was employed under Government.

access promised at all times to the Hoppo, of which the supracargoes were to avail themselves, and they were directed never to lose an opportunity of freeing the trade as far as possible. The Court then remarked on the co-hong which had been established two seasons, a combination that had lowered the price of the Company's imports at Canton; and although the same was believed to be contrary to the Emperor's orders, no relief could be obtained, as all representations were obliged to go through the local authorities, who were interested in defeating them. A.D. 1762.

The Court desired that quarrels and frays should be strictly guarded against between the sailors and the natives, and especially with the French sailors at Canton, hostilities then existing between England and France.

At the instance of the Royal Society, the Court sent out some queries, for the purpose of ascertaining the affinity between the Egyptian and Chinese writing, it being conceived that they were in fact the same language.

In November the Court remarked on the continued existence of the Hong confederacy, and urged the supracargoes to pay constant attention to it and to other hardships; at the same time directing "that in all their proceedings, pacific and conciliatory measures only were to be observed, and the utmost care taken not to give any just reason for umbrage to the Chinese government."

A.D. 1764. H. M.'s ship Argo arrives in China.

His Majesty's ship Argo having arrived in China with treasure, proceeded to Whampoa to refit. The mandarins insisted upon measuring her. The supracargoes stated that the commander would not consent, and that they had no power over a king's ship. Captain Affleck remonstrated in a letter to the Isontock, and demanded to be put upon the same footing as Commodore Anson. In this state of things the merchants consequently refused to become security for the Company's ships, which were not permitted to unload. The Isontock acquainted the supracargoes through one of his officers, that he looked upon them as managers for the English business, and as such expected they should comply with the custom of the port. Discussions were continued, and the supracargoes offered, in an address to the Isontock and Hoppo, to pay to the Emperor the same duties for the Argo as were paid on the largest of the Company's ships. The Hoppo stated that he should proceed to Whampoa for the purpose of measuring the ship, and if it was refused, she should leave the port. The Isontock observed, that the king's ship had brought money, but that Commodore Anson's ship was driven in by stress of weather.* He

* This is one amongst numerous instances, in which occurrences that have taken place years preceding, have been again brought forward, and shews the minuteness with which the Chinese attend to events, however remote, connected with every branch of their regulations.

asked what they meant by offering to pay the measurage in lieu of the ship's being measured, and stated, that it was contrary to his duty to consent to it; adding, that if it was not done, the supracargoes should leave the country, and the merchants be bambooed and banished Canton. A.D. 1766.

The merchants represented their situation to the supracargoes. They offered to return the money advanced on their contracts, as they were satisfied the Isontock would persevere, and entreated the supracargoes to persuade Captain Affleck to consent. To this, after a strong representation of the danger in which the trade was placed, Captain Affleck acceded, and the ship was measured, four months having been occupied in the discussion upon the subject. A King's ship measured.

The Court, adverting to the stoppage of the trade on account of the Argo frigate, stated, they had been informed that opium had been shipped on her and other private trade; and desired a full account to be sent home of the matter, as opium was prohibited, and the importation might be most detrimental to the Company's interests. The Company's ships were alone exempted from search on account of opium.

The possibility of importing tea plants to Fort Marlborough, and the encouragement of the silk trade in China, were points particularly noticed by the Court in their orders to the supracargoes.

A.D. 1769. A Chinese having been wounded in an affray with some of the seamen of the Lord Camden, a chop was refused for the ship's clearance until it was ascertained that the wounded man was out of danger.

A.D. 1770. Permanent residence of supracargoes. In this year the Court of Directors resolved that the supracargoes should reside permanently in China, which practice has been continued to the present time.

A.D. 1771. The Court were informed that the supracargoes had succeeded in their endeavours to procure the dissolution of the co-hong, which was effected by the Isoutock's edict of the 13th February. It cost Puankhequa 100,000 tales, which the Company repaid him.

Count Beniofski arrives in China. In the month of November, the Court were advised that " a small vessel arrived at Macao on the 23d September, commanded by a Hungarian Baron, Maurice Augusto Madar Beniofski, which event occasioned much speculation. He was at Macao, but not obtaining permission to proceed to Canton, the supracargoes could not procure intelligence, having no opportunity of meeting him. It was stated that he came from Kamtschatka, but by what track, or what were his motives, were unknown. He subsequently claimed the protection of the French, and had a chop procured for him and some of his officers to go up to Canton; and by their being mentioned in the chop (which was procured by Puankhequa), un-

der the denomination of French merchants, and the Hoppo's officer at Macao having had them described to him differently before, he returned the chop to Canton and would not suffer them to proceed. The mandarins were apprehensive they might be Russians, and Puankhequa, fearful of being involved in embarrassment, declined interfering. They remained at Macao until the French ships left China, in which they were to embark for Europe.*

In consequence of a representation by parties to the Court of Directors of debts (to the amount of one million sterling) owing by Chinese mer- A.D. 1779.

* The party subsequently reached Paris. Mr. Gibbon, in a letter dated at that capital in 1777, addressed to Dr. Robertson, the historian, then at Edinburgh, speaks of M. Beniofski and his travels in the following terms:

"A few days ago I dined with Beniofski, the famous adventurer, who escaped from his exile at Kamtschatska, and returned into Europe by Japan and China. His narrative was amusing, though I know not how far his veracity in point of circumstances may safely be trusted. It was his original design to penetrate through the north-east passage, and he actually followed the coast of Asia as high as the latitude of 67° 35′, till his progress was stopped by the ice in a straight between the two continents, which was only seven leagues broad. Thence he descended along the coast of America, as low as Cape Mendocin, but was repulsed by contrary winds in his attemps to reach the port of Acapulco. The journal of his voyage, with his original charts, is now at Versailles, in the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères*, and if you conceived that it would be of any use to you, for a second edition, I would try what might be obtained."

A.D. 1779. chants to sundry British subjects in China, the Court consented to the supracargoes using their influence to effect an adjustment.

Death of Capt. Cook, the celebrated navigator. In the month of December letters were received at Canton from Captains Gore and King, of his Majesty's ships Resolution and Discovery, who had arrived off Macao. They were greatly in want of stores and provisions.

They stated that Captain Cook was killed in February on an island in the South Seas, in an unfortunate quarrel with the natives. The ships had been as far as 70° 44′ north, and were then stopped by the ice. They left Kamstchatka in October.

The captains and officers having expended all their stores and provisions, the supracargoes supplied them with every thing necessary for their own consumption homeward-bound, and presented it to them in the name of the Company, being assured that the Court of Directors would approve of a compliment to gentlemen who had been so long and so hazardously employed in their country's service.

A.D. 1780. Mr. Smith ordered home. Mr. Smith, a private trader, who had been permitted to return to China in 1764 for two years, to settle his affairs, refused to recognize the power of the Court of Directors to order him away. The Court took the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, and the Company's standing counsel, on the point, who fully confirmed the

right of the Court to exercise that power; in virtue of which they commanded Mr. Smith to be sent away. If he did not embark voluntarily, he was to be seized and sent to England. The Court desired that every indulgence should be shewn, consistently with their orders, so as not unnecessarily to injure his interests. In executing these instructions, the supracargoes were cautioned to be very careful not to give offence to the Chinese government, or magistracy. A special written authority under the Company's seal accompanied the order. A.D. 1780.

In the month of December of this year a French seaman belonging to a country ship killed a Portuguese sailor of the Stormont in one of the merchant's houses. The Frenchman took refuge at the French consul's, where he remained many days, but was at length given up to the Chinese, and was strangled publicly by order of the Foo Yuen. This was the first instance of an European being executed for the murder of another in China, and was considered to form a dangerous precedent. A French sailor executed.

A Captain M'Clary, the commander of a country ship from Bengal, having stopped a sloop that was going to Manilla from the port of Macao, on the supposition that it was Spanish property, was seized by the government, confined in prison for two months, and only liberated on payment of 70,000 dollars, as the worth of the sloop, which sloop was wrecked after he had seized her. A.D. 1731. Capt. M'Clary.

A.D. 1781. Seizes a prize in the port of Canton.

The same individual having proceeded in his ship to Whampoa, and learning, on his arrival there in the month of August, that war had broken out between the English and Dutch, seized on a ship with Dutch colours as lawful prize. This step gave great offence to the Chinese, and involved the supracargoes then at Macao in much difficulty and embarrassment. They were appealed to as answerable for the conduct of their countrymen. They replied, they had no control over him. The matter was ultimately settled by concession on the part of Captain M'Clary.

A.D. 1782. Private debts.

In the month of January, the Court's attention was drawn to the serious evils which had arisen out of the measures taken by some of the private creditors to obtain payment of their debts from the Chinese, which had formed part of the million sterling adverted to in 1776. Representations from creditors resident in India, more particularly at Madras, had been sent, by the sanction of the council there, through a captain of a king's ship, under the orders of Admiral Sir Edward Vernon, and afterwards those of Sir Edward Hughes.

The captain charged with the remonstrance to the Isontock, disregarding the requests of the supracargo, went to Canton to deliver it. The debts had arisen from private persons, lending money at a high rate of interest to the natives. The result was, an edict of the Emperor, ordering the debts to be paid, and prohibiting for the future

debts being incurred by the Chinese. This circumstance led to the appointment of certain mandarins, through whom alone future dealings were to be carried on.

A.D. 1782. Injurious effect on Company's trade.

This measure produced a combination amongst the Hong, who, to cover themselves, laid higher prices on the teas and lower on the Company's imports; and as the trade could only be carried on through the mandarins, the loss to the Company was excessive.

The Court ordered all private persons to be sent away under the laws then in force, which they stated to be adequate to the object, and that a full statement of the unauthorized conduct of the parties should be made known, and the notice prohibiting residence publicly announced.

A.D. 1784. The ship Lady Hughes, death of a Chinese and differences in consequence.

In the month of November, an accident occurred which led to the adoption of extreme measures of defence on the part of the Select Committee, and to those of equal determination to enforce the laws on the part of the Chinese.

A gun fired from the country ship Lady Hughes while saluting, unfortunately caused the death of a Chinese. The authorities, accompanied by the merchants, waited on the president to demand, according to the laws of the Empire, that the man who had caused the death should be given up, or at least produced for public examination. They were informed, that it could not be ascertained who the man was; that in all probability

A.D. 1784. the gunner had absconded, and that they (the supracargoes) had no power over country ships. Under these circumstances the supracargo of the Lady Hughes, consented, at the instance of the Select Committee, to go to Canton, for the purpose of explaining the circumstances. After an examination for form's sake, he was decoyed away and conveyed into the city under a guard of soldiers with drawn swords, and other hostile measures were also resorted to. This event led the Select Committee in concert with the other European councils, who voluntarily offered their assistance, considering the seizure of the supracargo as a precedent equally menacing to themselves as to the English in particular, to order up the boats of the several ships, manned and armed, as a guard to the Committee's persons, in case any violence should be intended, as well as to manifest, in the strongest manner, the view which they took of the conduct of the local authorities. The communication with Whampoa being suspended, so far as could be effected by the refusal of chops, two English boats and some seamen, who were accidentally at Canton, were despatched to Whampoa, with orders to the English ships, and likewise those of the French, Dutch, Danes, and Americans.

The Chinese still detained the supracargo, and endeavoured to induce the other Europeans to separate themselves from the English. The local

authorities refused, notwithstanding the menacing attitude assumed by the Select Committee, to deliver up the supracargo, until the gunner, or some substitute, was brought forward; and it was not until the gunner, who had been all along on board the Lady Hughes, was surrendered, that the supracargo was released. The gunner, being recommended to the protection of the Chinese, was conducted to the pagoda, and the mandarins desired the gentlemen present "not to be uneasy as to his fate!" A.D. 1784.

The Select Committee close the narrative in the following terms, *viz.* "In about an hour after, the supracargo arrived at the factory, and gave a very satisfactory account of the treatment he met with, and the civilities he received from the several mandarins, most of whom visited him and sent him presents.

"This troublesome affair being thus concluded in a manner contrary to our expectation, precludes any reasoning on what might have ensued from the steps we had taken had the man not been found. Upon reviewing the whole transaction, however, we can but be of opinion, that the ordering up the boats, though the appearances the first night were rather alarming, has been productive of very good consequences, and still more so, that it was done in conjunction with the foreigners, at whose instigation that measure was chiefly adopted."

A.D. 1784. "From the circumstances that followed the seizure of the supracargo, the frequent mention of Mr. Pigou's name, the president, in the several conferences with the mandarins, and the express stipulation that he should not leave Canton, and the concurrent testimony of every Chinese deserving of credit whom we have conversed with since the termination of the affair, there does not remain a doubt that the local officers' determined resolution in the beginning was to seize the person of the chief, if they found that of Mr. Smith ineffectual.

"As repeated experience shews the utter impossibility of avoiding the inconveniences to which we are constantly subject from the imprudence or wilful misconduct of private traders, and the accidents that may happen on board their ships, it were to be wished that the powers, if any, which we really possess over them, were clearly and explicitly defined, or if no law, or construction of law, now existing allows of such powers, how far the absolute commands of the government under whose jurisdiction we are, will justify our compliance, and how far, in such a case, the commanders and officers of the Honourable Company's ships are bound to obey our orders; at present equally destitute of power to resist the unjust commands of government and to carry them into effect, we know of no alternative but retiring to our ships for protection."

In consequence of an order received from the Emperor on the 8th January 1785, the Chinese strangled the gunner of the Lady Hughes, and on the same day the gentlemen of the different nations were summoned to attend the mandarins, and were informed by them that the Emperor was greatly displeased at their having so long delayed giving the man up, and observed that the government had been extremely moderate in demanding the life of one foreigner for the lives of *two* of his subjects who had been lost by accident. They were moreover told that the government expected, in case of a similar circumstance happening again, that the Europeans should pay a more ready obedience to the commands of the mandarins, or that the gentlemen must abide the consequence of a refusal.

A.D.1785. The gunner strangled.

The firing of salutes, from which accidents had occurred, was henceforth prohibited by the Select Committee.

Salutes prohibited.

Some English sailors having been attacked on Dane's Island while amusing themselves, the Chinese killed one of the seamen. The President represented the circumstance through the merchants to the mandarins, and solicited that the offender might be found out and punished. In November he was informed that the man had been discovered and was imprisoned, awaiting the Emperor's order. The order was subsequently received, in consequence of which the man was

Chinese strangled.

A.D. 1785. strangled. The supracargoes saw no reason to discredit the statement, the same having been reported to them from various persons.

This circumstance evinces the equal administration of the sanguinary laws of that extraordinary people, and at the same time holds out a fearful warning to those who have intercourse with them, of what they are to expect, if even through ignorance and misfortune they happen to fall under the operation of those laws.

Isontock visits the factory.

The Isontock accompanied by the mandarins visited the factory. It was the first instance of that officer ever having entered the walls of a European house.

A.D. 1786. Court's sentiments on affairs of the Lady Hughes.

In the month of February the Court communicated their sentiments to the Select Committee on the affairs of the Lady Hughes, and the death of the seaman, which followed his being delivered over to the local authorities.

It was observed, " that the supracargoes were appointed, in full confidence of their integrity and abilities, to manage the trade, not only to the best mercantile advantage, but to support it with such prudence and judgment, in every instance where the government of the country is concerned, as might promote a good understanding with the mandarins, and by so doing to avoid those embarrassments which without cautious circumspection must continually occur in so peculiar a government as that of China."

"Experience had shewn, that the Court of Pekin would use its power to carry into execution whatever it declares to be the law. Individual Chinese may be, and often are, afraid of Europeans, but the government was not so. Despotic in itself, ignorant of the power of foreign nations, very superior to the divided and small states that surround it, the Chinese esteem themselves not only the first nation in the world, but the most powerful. Such circumstances and such notions had naturally produced a high and imperious spirit in the government, but no fear. Adverting to the attempt at intimidation on the part of the factory, and the effect it might have produced on the mandarins, it was remarked, if they had any apprehensions, it must have been of their own government, which absurdly supposes that if a mandarin * is active and diligent in performing the duties of his office no disturbance can happen, and of course if any does, it must proceed from his negligence. This oppressive and unjust A.D. 1786.

* Every man appointed to any public charge or dignity in China, from the highest to the lowest, is called by the name of mandarin. Whence it comes, that there are many orders, which are all distinguished, one from the other by difference of habits, characters, and figures, which are embroidered or sewed on their habits; insomuch, that upon seeing a mandarin, it may be immediately known of what order he is, because every mandarin is forbid to appear in public without the habit of his order, under pain of the most rigorous penalties.

A.D. 1786. system of Chinese policy was supposed to have operated on the occasion in question, for the Fooyuen was degraded soon after, and for some time not permitted to go to the court of Pekin."

Should a casualty like the last unfortunate accident happen to any of the English, the supracargoes were desired to use every means in their power to stop the business in the first stage, by applying to some Chinese merchant of ability, to get such a representation made to the viceroy as might secure the life of the person; but if a murder should have been committed, they were to exert themselves in delivering the perpetrator up to the Government.

A.D. 1787. The power of the supracargoes over British subjects and ships having been frequently called in question, they were advised that all doubts as to their authority were removed " by the Act of the 26th of his present Majesty, cap. lvii, sec. 35, which enacts that all the powers and authorities in any acts given, granted, or provided for taking, arresting, seizing, remitting, sending or bringing to England, any person or persons being in the East-Indies or other places mentioned in the act, contrary to law, and for seizing any ships, vessels, goods, or effects liable to seizure by any law in force, shall and may be enforced and put in execution by, or by the order and authority of the Company's council of supracargoes for the time being, at the town or factory of Canton within the

said town or factory, or upon the river of Canton." The Order in Council of the 9th December last vests the same powers in the superintendents appointed by the King for the conduct of the British trade at Canton as were possessed by the supracargoes of the East-India Company. How far the abrogation of the Company's exclusive privlege and the opening of the trade may affect these powers, must be decided by legal authority.* A.D. 1787.

The conduct of the British seamen in China having long been most turbulent and disorderly, occasioning frequent complaints from the representatives of other European nations, and causing affrays which tended to involve the supracargoes in frequent embarrassment, regulations under the sanction of the Court were framed to check the evil. A.D. 1788.

In February, Commodore Blankett with his Majesty's ships Leopard and Thames, advised his arrival off Macao to the supracargoes, at whose instance he was induced to remain below the Bogue, upon being assured that it was contrary to the laws of China for ships of war to enter the river, and that he should have every supply which he might require. The commodore and his officers were received and entertained at the Company's factory. He was appointed to convoy the China ships homeward. A.D. 1791. His Majesty's Leopard and Thames.

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* Vide Appendix to this volume.

A.D. 1791. It will have been apparent from the detail already given, that the Chinese, instead of relaxing in their conduct towards the English since their first intercourse with Canton, in consequence of the supposed increased value of their commerce and the length of their connexion with China, only inflicted additional impositions upon the trade, and as the supracargoes justly stated, acted as if they were "aware that the importance we attached to its continuance induced us to submit to almost every indignity." The feeling of distrust and apprehension manifested towards British subjects was, in some degree, traced to the impression occasioned by the extension of our arms and possessions in India, and to the opinion which the Chinese entertained of our character for encroachment, where we once obtained a footing. This remark acquires strength from the facts developed in the progress of the first embassy from Great Britain to Pekin, which is the next point to be noticed in our transactions with the Chinese empire.

CHAP. VI.

Lord Macartney's Embassy and its results.—Letters from the King of England to the Emperor.—Emperor's reply.—China fleet.—Admiral Linois.—Resort of King's ships to Anson's Bay.—Mr. Manning.—Expedition to Macao.—Serious disputes in 1814.

A.D. 1792. Embassy of Lord Macartney.

In the month of January 1792 the Chairman and Deputy Chairman waited on Mr. Dundas, where they met Mr. Pitt, by whom they were informed that His Majesty's Ministers contemplated sending an embassy to China, for the purpose of placing our intercourse with that nation on a more firm and extended footing. The Chairs expressed great doubts as to the probability of any substantial and permanent advantage being derived by the Company or the country at large from the measure; but as contrary opinions had been adopted by some of the highest authorities, and as the nobleman proposed for the mission was considered to be particularly well qualified for the purpose, the Chairs thought, if the experiment must be tried, the opportunity ought not to be neglected. The subject having been considered by the Court of Directors, they agreed to the proposition, and passed a vote of credit to the Chairs, to whom the duty was devolved of arranging the material points of the embassy with His Majesty's Ministers.

A.D. 1792. It was felt that a greater number of His Majesty's subjects than of any other Europeans had been trading for a considerable time past to China. That the commercial intercourse between several nations and that great empire, had been preceded, accompanied, or followed by special communications with its sovereign. Others had the support of missionaries, who from their eminence in science or ingenuity in the arts, were frequently admitted to the familiarity of a curious and polished court. These missionaries, in the midst of their cares for the propagation of their faith, were not supposed to have been unmindful of the views and interests of their country, while the English traders remained unaided, and as it were unavowed, at a distance so remote, as to admit of a misrepresentation of the national character and importance, and where too their occupation was not held in that esteem which ought to procure them safety and respect.

Under these circumstances, it was considered that it became the dignity and character of His Majesty to extend his paternal regard to his distant subjects, even if the commerce and prosperity of the nation had not been concerned in their success, and to claim the Emperor of China's particular protection for them with that weight which is due to the requisition of one great sovereign from another.

A free communication with a people, perhaps the most singular upon the globe, among whom

civilization has existed and the arts have been cultivated through a long series of ages, with fewer interruptions than elsewhere, was also considered worthy of this nation, which saw with pleasure, and applauded with gratitude, the several voyages undertaken already by His Majesty's command, and at the public expense, in the pursuit of knowledge, and for the discovery and observation of distant countries and manners. A.D. 1792.

Hitherto Great Britain had been obliged to pursue the trade with China under circumstances the most discouraging, hazardous to its agents employed in conducting it, and precarious to the various interests involved in it. The only place where His Majesty's subjects had the privilege of a factory was Canton. The fair competition of the market was there destroyed by associations of the Chinese. The supracargoes were denied access to the tribunals of the country and to the equal execution of its laws, and were kept altogether in a most arbitrary state of depression, ill-suited to the importance of the concerns entrusted to their care, and scarcely compatible with the regulations of civilized society.

It therefore became important to ascertain whether these evils had arisen from any settled policy of the imperial government, or from any ill-founded jealousy of our national influence; or whether they were created merely by the corruption and abuses of a distant provincial adminis-

A.D. 1792. tration, and to endeavour to obtain a remedy for them.

If all attempts to secure a new establishment proved decidedly ineffectual, attention was to be given to the relief of our embarrassments at Canton by an extension of our privileges there; and whatever might be the decision of the imperial government, unless indeed it should be a rejection of all our requests, it was desirable to obtain it in writing, under the formalities usual on such occasions.

For these and other reasons, which it is not now necessary to advert to, the embassy was formed; and although the Court of Directors saw no reason to alter the opinion they had originally formed as to the probable result, they afforded every aid in their power to promote the end contemplated in its appointment.

Departure of embassy from England.

The embassy embarked at Portsmouth on board his Majesty's ship Lion, Captain Sir Erasmus Gower, and sailed on the 26th September 1792. At Madeira they were splendidly entertained by the Portuguese governor. It touched at Rhio, from whence it proceeded to the straits of Sunda, where the Lion having struck the ground, Lord Macartney thought it prudent to purchase a brig, Europe-built, about 100 tons, for 5,000 dollars, and called her the Clarence, in honour of the then royal Duke, now our most gracious King.

The whole course of the embassy, from its

arrival and disembarkation at the river Pe-ho; its progress towards Pekin; the designation on the flags of the boats in which Lord Macartney and his suite embarked, "the ambassador bearing tribute from the King of England;" the consent of his Lordship to go through the ceremony before the Chinese throne, provided a Chinese did the same to the picture of the King of England; the journey of his Lordship and suite to Ge-hol, the country seat of the Emperor, who was in his eighty-third year, and who rose each morning at three o'clock and retired at six in the afternoon; the ceremony being waived by the reception of the ambassador on merely bending his knee; the studied respect shewn to the embassy and suite amidst the jealous and careful watchfulness of the Calao and Legate; the degradation of the latter because he had not gone on board the Lion on her arrival with the ambassador, as desired by the Emperor, and being consequently obliged to wear an opaque white instead of a transparent blue button, and a crow instead of a peacock's tail pendent from his cap; together with the various entertainments given by the Emperor, are so fully detailed in the account of the embassy published shortly after its reaching England, that it would be quite superfluous now to enter upon them. A.D. 1793.

The embassay was about fifty days from the period of landing at Pe-ho to that of its quitting Tien Sing on its return to Canton.

A.D. 1793. Sanguine expectations appear to have been created in the mind of his Lordship as to the probable opening in the northern ports for British staples, especially woollens, and much was anticipated from the apparent disposition of the new viceroy of the province of Canton to encourage foreign commerce; but the terms of the official announcement in the letter from the Emperor to the King of England was calculated to defeat all hope of any real benefit arising from the measure.

Considerable stress was laid upon the advantage which it was thought might have accrued from a more perfect knowledge of the Chinese language. It was added by Lord Macartney, in a letter dated at Canton the 7th January 1794, "that there is indeed a likelihood of a permanent as well as a complete redress of every grievance, whenever a familiar access to the Viceroy shall be established, and the difficulty overcome of communicating freely with him in the Chinese language."

Some of the more trifling circumstances which occurred, shew the strict adherence to ancient usages and customs. As in 1419 and subsequently, Lord Macartney was summoned before day-light to the garden at Ge-hol to await the arrival of the Emperor. The same silence was observed at the entertainment given to the ambassador, and a cup of Tartarian liquor was also presented to him by the Emperor. The Emperor's letter to the power represented by the embassy was likewise enclosed

in yellow silk, and placed with great state in a separate apartment, where it was received by the ambassador. A. D. 1793.

The legate, who had been appointed to attend the ambassador, was a Tartar, and evidently manifested a jealous feeling towards Lord Macartney, who attributed this jealousy in a great measure to the success of the British arms in India, and to an impression on the mind of the legate that the English had aided the Nepaulese in the war which had taken place with the Tartars on the borders of Thibet.

The letter to the King of England from the Emperor, stated that the proposals of the ambassador went to change the whole system of European commerce so long established at Canton, which could not be allowed, and his consent could by no means be given for resort to Limpo, Chusan, Tien Sing, or any northern ports, nor could he allow of a British resident at Pekin. He observed that "the Russians now only traded to Kiatcha, and had not for many years come to Pekin, neither could he consent to any other place of residence for Europeans near Canton but Macao," adding, "your merchants must conform to the usual rate for right of anchorage at Canton;" and in conclusion he says, "as the requests made by your ambassador militate against the laws and usages of this our empire, and are at the same time wholly useless to the end proposed, I

A.D. 1793. cannot acquiesce in them. I again admonish you, O king, to act conformably to my intentions, that we may preserve peace and amity on each side, and thereby contribute to our reciprocal happiness. After this, my solemn warning, should your Majesty, in pursuance of your ambassador's demands, fit out ships in order to attempt to trade either at Ning Po, Tehu San, Tien Sing, or other places, as our laws are exceedingly severe, in such case I shall be under the necessity of directing my mandarins to force your ships to quit these ports, and thus the increased trouble and exertions of your merchants would at once be frustrated. You will not then, however, be able to complain that I had not clearly forewarned you. Let us therefore live in peace and friendship, and do not make light of my words. For this reason I have so repeatedly and earnestly written to you upon this subject."

Thus terminated the embassy. It has been justly observed, that the ambassador was received with the utmost politeness, treated with the utmost hospitality, watched with the utmost vigilance, and dismissed with the utmost civility.

His Majesty's ship Lion reached the Channel with Lord Macartney and suite on the 4th September 1794, two years within twenty-two days from their leaving Portsmouth.

A.D. 1795. In consequence of various suggestions growing out of the embassy, an attempt was made in the

early part of this year to introduce sundry articles of British manufacture to Pekin, consisting of samples of linen-cloth sword-blades, and specimens of wove paper; the latter having been much admired by the mandarins at the capital, who were only accustomed to the coarse paper imported from Corea. A.D. 1795.

Great caution was to be used in forwarding the articles to Pekin, and the sanction of the Viceroy at Canton was to be obtained before the sword-blades were landed.

Letters were sent from the King to the Emperor of China, and from Mr. Secretary Dundas, the Earl of Macartney, Sir George Staunton, and from the Chairman and Deputy to the Viceroy. Presents accompanied the letters.

No doubt was entertained of a gracious reception being given to the supracargoes by the Viceroy, as it was understood that he promised the ambassador, previous to his departure from China, "that he would ever attend to the representations" of the supracargoes.

His Majesty's letter was forwarded through the proper channel to the Emperor at Pekin, but the Isontock or Viceroy and Hoppo could not be prevailed upon to accept the letters and presents intended for them, under the impression that they were meant for their predecessors in office.

In April 1798 reference was made to a statement contained in Sir George Staunton's publi- A.D. 1798.

A.D. 1798. cation of the Chinese embassy in 1793, of an assurance alleged to have been given by the mandarins to Lord Macartney, on his passage with the Isontock from Pekin, that the abuses and impositions said to have been increasing for some years should be inquired into, and if well-founded, that they should be corrected. The Select Committee were desired to examine the circumstances connected with any impositions thrown on the trade, and to report how far the Isontock had granted relief.

A.D. 1799. Grievances pointed out. A minute statement of all the impositions under which the trade laboured was ordered to be prepared. A great diminution in the expenses of the supracargoes' removal to and from Canton had been experienced since the embassy, but in other respects they were not sensible of any material alteration for the benefit of Europeans.

The points which more immediately pressed upon the trade were:

1st. The Cohong fund arising in a measure from demands by the Emperor on the merchants to support his wars, &c.

2d. The unfair manner of weighing the goods by the mandarins.

3d. The fees on shipping.

4th. The charges on transport of stores from ship to ship at Whampoa.

5th. The manner of measuring the country ships.

Notwithstanding these impositions, some improvement was experienced, whether owing to the impression of the late embassy in the proof it afforded that the fountain head might be approached, or to the increased scale of the Company's commerce; but the embarrassing expedient of stopping the trade, which used formerly to be put in force on the most trifling occasion, as well as interference on the part of the mandarins in the allotment of the business, had not been resorted to for some time. A.D. 1799.

In the month of February his Majesty's schooner Providence was sent up from Lintin, by order of the commander of the King's ship Madras, from Whampoa. The officer of the watch, on the night of the 11th, having hailed a boat which had been at the schooner's bows for some time, and receiving no answer, fired into her, under a conviction that the parties were attempting to cut the schooner's cable. The shot wounded a Chinese, and another Chinese had fallen overboard. The man who fired at the boat was kept in custody by the Lieutenant of the schooner. The Chinese government demanded that he should be given up for examination, and that he who in a struggle had occasioned the other to fall overboard should be confronted with his accuser; and lastly, that a basket of vegetables stated to have been taken out of the boat should be restored. A.D. 1800. H. M.'s ship Madras.

Captain Dilkes, of the Madras, in reply to a

A.D. 1800. letter from the supracargoes, wherein they submitted to him a statement of those demands, represented that he should go in one of the ship's boats to Canton to avow the fact of wounding the thief, which could not but immediately clear the Company's ship Abergavenny, and rest the dispute between the King of England and the Emperor of China. He reached Canton on the 22d February, when he addressed a letter to the viceroy respecting the conduct of the Chinese, and stated that he had no doubt they would meet with proper punishment, adverting at the same time to the several attempts at theft which had occasioned the event, and adding, that the Chinese leapt overboard. The demand for the basket of vegetables he treated as a trifle, but promised nevertheless that it should be restored.

The merchants were summoned to state whether they would take the letter to the viceroy, and they were informed that Captain Dilkes would not give the man up without seeing the viceroy, nor would he consent to place the man under the control of the Select Committee. The discussion continued till the month of March, when Captain Dilkes left a long address for the viceroy in the hands of the Select Committee, having previously, in his intercourse with one of the mandarins, stated that he could not allow the seamen in his ship to be examined at Canton without his being present. It was afterwards admitted by the Chinese that the

man who was drowned threw himself overboard. A.D. 1800.
This fact, together with the circumstance of the wounded Chinese having recovered, tended materially to bring the matter to a close.

Although in this, as in many other instances, the viceroy had shewn a strong partiality towards the English, it was not for a moment to be supposed that he would have permitted the matter to pass over so easily, had the Chinese died of his wounds.

In the latter event, and supposing a refusal on the part of Captain Dilkes to abide by the law of the country, immediate recourse would most probably have been had to a stoppage of the trade; and had the refusal been persisted in, and Captain Dilkes quitted the coast without delivering up the man, it was difficult to say how far the government might have carried their resentment.

The fraudulent disposition of the lower class of Chinese, and the number of King's ships annually arriving at the port of Canton in time of war, led to a suggestion, that general orders should be given to the captains of his Majesty's ships, more particularly when within the Bogue, on no account to fire at any Chinese, however great the provocation; and it was suggested, as a point worthy of consideration, whether the captains of King's ships should not be made the bearers of a letter from his Majesty to the Emperor, accompanied with small presents, the presentation of which might

A.D. 1800. afford an eligible opportunity to point out, in still more explicit terms, the distinction between the two services, and also lay the foundation for obtaining privileges hitherto denied to the King's ships.

The expediency of a distinction being drawn, if possible, between the two services was fully admitted by the home authority, but strong doubts were entertained as to encouraging personal communications between officers of his Majesty's navy and the superior mandarins. It was felt that the respectful manner in which the viceroy, or those specially deputed by him, expect to be approached, might not accord with the feelings of King's officers.

English sailors found in China well treated.

Much attention had been shewn by the Chinese government to six English seamen who on the 13th June 1799 left a small half-masted English vessel, which had been sold to an American captain, by whom, as well as his mates, the English sailors had been very ill treated. They landed at Fū-keen, where they were surrounded by the Chinese military and then conducted to the mandarin, who entertained them plentifully for eight days, and then sent them to the capital of Fū-keen, from whence they were despatched, under the care of another mandarin to Canton. The time of their landing until their arrival at Canton comprised a period of one hundred and twenty days. The Select Committee addressed the Isontock, expressing their sincerest thanks for the hospitality and kindness shewn to the seamen.

A request having been preferred by the President of the Select Committee, through the merchants, to the viceroy for a copy of the laws of China, the viceroy deputed a mandarin, on the 7th April, to inform the Select Commitee, that whilst he approved of the motives which induced the request for a copy of the code, "it was so multifarious and so exceedingly voluminous, that Europeans would scarcely be able to derive from it precise information on the points in which they were concerned, and that an inspection could not be granted to foreigners without the express permission of the Emperor." The viceroy therefore caused the mandarin to present the President with some printed copies of the extracts, in which Europeans were most interested. One hundred sets were sent for distribution: fifty among the English gentlemen, and fifty for the foreign merchants. A.D. 1801.

The following are the extracts. It will be perceived that they have special reference to the circumstances which had arisen in the discussions so lately settled, as to the wounding and killing Chinese.

TRANSLATION of a PAPER presented by Chow-low-ye, containing extracts from the Chinese code of laws.

"1st. Article. A man who kills another on the suspicion of theft shall be strangled, according to the law against homicide committed in an affray.

"2d. A man who fires at an another with a

A.D. 1801. musket and kills him thereby shall be beheaded, as in cases of wilful murder. If the sufferer is wounded (but not mortally) the offender shall be sent into exile.

"3d. A man who puts to death a criminal who had been apprehended and made no resistance shall be strangled, according to the law against homicide committed in an affray.

"4th. A man who falsely accuses another innocent person of theft (in cases of greatest criminality) is guilty of a capital offence; in all other cases the criminals, whether principals or accessories, shall be sent into exile.

"5th. A man who wounds another unintentionally shall be tried according to the law respecting blows given in an affray, and the punishment rendered more or less severe according to the degree of injury sustained.

"6th. A man who, intoxicated with liquor, commits outrages against the laws, shall be exiled to a desert country, there to remain in a state of servitude.

"The foregoing are articles of the laws of the empire of China, according to which judgment is passed on persons offending against them, without allowing of any compromise or extenuation."

On the 21st October the Court engaged the brig Telegraph to proceed to St. Helena and Macao to announce the general peace.

On the 2d January the American flag was first hoisted at Canton. Americans.

The fullest information was ordered to be sent home as to the Chinese mode of printing, accompanied by two sets of their implements and tools. Information was likewise desired respecting sea-weed, called "Kay say," stated to grow on the coast of China, and to be calculated for the use of artists in the way of cement.

Some disputes having arisen between the private traders and the Hong merchants, upon which doubts had been entertained whether a reference should not have been made to the Chinese government, the Select Committee were reminded by the court that the covenants entered into in India by owners and commanders of all country ships, bind such commanders and owners or their agents, in case of disputes in commercial transactions, to abide by the decision of the Select Committee. A.D. 1803.

On the 5th November the Court advised the Select Committee of the recommencement of hostilities with the French and Batavian republics.

On the 22d May the Court was apprised of his Majesty's intention to address a letter to the Emperor of China, accompanied by presents. It was also determined that a letter should be sent from the chairman to the viceroy and hoppo, with presents: and as it had been intimated to the Court that the embassy in 1792 would probably have been more King's letter to Emperor.

successful had the prime minister at Pekin been conciliated to the British interests, a letter was sent from Lord Castlereagh to that officer.

A.D. 1804. His Majesty's ships.

In the latter part of this year the supracargoes, justly appreciating the importance of affording every accommodation to his Majesty's ships in order that they might be in readiness to take charge of the Company's valuable homeward fleets, had been engaged in a negotiation with the hoppo and viceroy for the purpose of facilitating the resort of King's ships to Anson's Bay under the sanction of the local authorities; but the Committee stated that although they had been unable to prevail upon the Chinese to sanction it publicly, they had permitted a supply of provision to be sent from Whampoa without any material interruption, notwithstanding several chops or edicts, directing the departure of such ships, had been issued from time to time, and that one had been addressed to the Committee in very strong terms to the same effect. Having succeeded in obtaining the sanction of the mandarins for this very essential supply, they stated they were less anxious on the other points demanded, being convinced that, although the absurd and unreasonable pretext of custom might prevent the Chinese granting permission for ships of war anchoring near his imperial Majesty's forts,*

* The Bocca Tigris.

it would be tolerated, and in time become an established privilege, and would not be relinquished unless an anchorage should be found for ships of war equally secure and well adapted for the protection of the merchant vessels. A.D. 1804.

The supracargoes at the same time urged in the most pointed terms the necessity of convoy being secured for the valuable fleets which were annually dispatched to England.

Nothing could more strongly shew the importance of securing such protection than the memorable event which took place in the following year, when the homeward bound China fleet of sixteen sail, under commodore Sir Nathaniel Dance, beat off the French squadron under Admiral Linois in the China seas on the 15th February.

The commanders behaved with the utmost gallantry, the van being led by Captain Timins in the Royal George, which ship received sixty-six shots in her hull and rigging. The value of property then at stake was estimated at upwards of sixteen millions sterling.*

* This was one of the many instances in which the size of the ships built for the service of the East-India Company, and the manner in which they were found, was of great importance to the national interests.

In 1795 six of the large ships and eight others then building, were placed at the disposal of his Majesty's government, who had applied to the Company for that purpose, as they could

A. D. 1805. Tax on trade in China.

In consequence of the failure of one of the Hong merchants (Shy Kinqua) a tax had been imposed

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be readily converted into ships of war. In the month of July in the same year, fourteen of the Company's ships were made available to carry out troops and stores from this country, Ireland, and Gibraltar, to the West-Indies.

A statement regarding East-India ships has been introduced into the life of that gallant and distinguished officer, the late Sir David Baird, for the purpose of shewing the early difficulties he had to contend with. It is calculated to impress the public mind unfavourably towards the Court in the management of that branch of the public service, it is important therefore to shew that the cause of those difficulties in no way arose, as alledged, from the Company's ships not being ready to receive the regiment at Portsmouth.

"In the spring of 1778, the regiment was formed at Fort George. When the 73d arrived at Portsmouth the *East-India Company's ships* were not ready to receive it."

There could have been no expectation that any of the Company's ships would be ready at the period when the regiment reached Portsmouth for them to embark, as it was not until September 1778 that the Court of Directors received the communication from Lord Weymouth, then secretary of state, that "his Majesty had been graciously disposed to order that the regiment of Highlanders commanded by Lord Macleod, should be augmented to a second battalion, to be forthwith raised, of the same number as the first."

Upon what authority then can it be asserted that the "fine regiment of 1,000 strong returned to quarters to Portsmouth to await the still-delayed sailing of the India fleet,"—when, in fact, no fleet had been assembled for the purpose, and intimation had only been received on the 17th September, that the second battalion, to complete the regiment to 1,000 men, was then ordered to be raised?

On

upon the trade, for the purpose of liquidating his debts; those debts having been paid and the tax still continued, the Court, in their letter of the 16th January, directed the supracargoes to use every effort to get it withdrawn. A.D. 1805.

One of the king's gardeners had been sent out to Canton for the purpose of collecting the vegetable productions of the country: he was maintained at the Company's charge, and a botanical painter was engaged to make drawings of the plants under the direction of such gardener. A description of the properties of the plants was to be sent home. Gardener sent out from the King.

On the 3d March 1805 the Select Committee advised the Court, that they had been obliged to furnish the mandarins, through the merchants,

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On the 28th December 1778 Lord Macleod was informed by the Court that a deputation of three directors would proceed to Portsmouth the following day to superintend the embarkation, and to remedy any point which might affect the comfort of the officers and soldiers; and his Majesty's government were earnestly entreated to expedite the sailing of the ships, which were delayed for Sir Edward Hughes, the admiral, who had orders to proceed in charge of them, but had been detained for political purposes until the month of March 1779, when, as has been shewn, the Company's ships were all ready to receive their troops on the 29th December, the regular appointed time for the usual departure of the first division. It may be affirmed, that no service was ever conducted with more regularity, or proved itself more efficient, than that employed in the service and under the regulations of the East-India Company.

A.D. 1805. with translations of the letters from his Majesty to the Emperor before it could be received by the viceroy.

Letter from the King to the Emperor.

Some difficulty occurred as to the letter for the prime minister, that office since the death of Ho-chang-tong having been filled by four mandarins, under the title of *Colaos,* superiority in power or authority not being the privilege of any.

Chinese versions of the letters for the prime minister, viceroy, and Hoppo, as well as of the address from his Majesty, being required, the same was accomplished by the assistance of Sir George Staunton, which, with lists of the presents, were delivered by the merchants to the viceroy, who fixed the 23d January for the reception of his Majesty's letter, invariably declining any promise to receive the letters addressed to himself or the other mandarins, saying his sentiments would be communicated on the day of audience.

As the supracargoes were unable to obtain any satisfactory information respecting the mode in which their reception was to take place, the merchants were informed that the Committee did not consider themselves at liberty to submit to the smallest mark of degradation which might wear the appearance of slight to their sovereign, and that unless assured that the execution of their commission would not be attended with any circumstances of that nature, it must be deferred or relinquished altogether.

From the imprudent manner in which the communication was made to the Hoppo by the merchants, they incurred his severe displeasure and returned much agitated, with the only information they were able to procure—a copy of the orders issued for the guidance of the mandarins who were to attend upon the occasion, which being satisfactory, as far as related to the reception of the letter of his Majesty, the supracargoes judged it advisable not to hesitate in the execution of that part of their commission, but to regulate their conduct in discharge of the remainder by that of the mandarins themselves on the occasion. A.D. 1805.

On the morning of the 23d they proceeded to the viceroy's palace accompanied by Sir George Staunton. A chair handsomely ornamented was sent for the conveyance of the box containing the king's letter, which on the supracargoes arrival at the palace was placed opposite the centre door, and they were shewn into a small apartment on the side of the Court, from whence, after considerable detention, they were conducted under a salute of three guns by a side gateway to the hall of audience, at the same time that the letter was conveyed through the centre. Letter delivered.

The viceroy and Hoppo were seated under a canopy at the upper end of the hall, and numerous mandarins stood on either side. His Majesty's letter, which had been placed at the entrance of

A.D. 1805. the hall, was taken from the box by the president and presented to the Viceroy, who with the Hoppo rose to receive it, and continued standing for a short time, when the letter was carried into an adjoining apartment and they again seated themselves.

Letter from Lord Castlereagh and the Chairman not received.

Previous to this the Viceroy was acquainted with the supracargoes having letters to deliver from Lord Castlereagh and the Chairman. Their reception was, however, declined, his excellency stating that the invariable practice and general laws of the empire prevented any officer of government from receiving letters or presents from the ministers or mandarins of foreign nations, and that it was therefore his duty to decline those now offered, and he desired that Lord Castlereagh and the Honourable Chairman might be apprised of these regulations.

The president requested that as, conformable to the customs of his country, should he persist in declining the letters and presents, he would submit the consideration of their acceptance to his Imperial Majesty; to this he consented. The letters and presents were therefore retained until the Emperor's pleasure was announced. After a short conversation the supracargoes took their leave, satisfied with having been received in a more courteous and respectful manner than had been expected. On their retiring, a salute of three guns was again fired.

In the month of March the Committee were apprised of the intention of the Emperor to address a letter to his Britannic Majesty, accompanied by some presents. On the 8th May the letter and presents from Pekin had arrived at Canton. The president was deputed to receive them. He was admitted to an audience at the viceroy's palace on the 19th May, when the imperial letter and presents were delivered to him by his excellency. The ceremony upon the occasion precisely corresponds with that which had been observed on the presentation of the letter to the Emperor from the King of England.

A.D. 1806. Letter from Emperor.

The following is an extract of the letter from the Emperor.

"Your Majesty's kingdom is at a remote distance beyond the seas, but is observant of its duties and obedient to its laws, beholding from a-far the glory of our empire and respectfully admiring the perfection of our government. Your Majesty has dispatched messengers with letters for our perusal and consideration; we find that they are dictated by appropriate sentiments of esteem and veneration; and being therefore inclined to fulfil the wishes and expectations of your Majesty, we have determined to accept of the whole of the accompanying offering.

"With regard to those of your Majesty's subjects who for a long course of years have been in

A.D. 1806. the habit of trading to our empire, we must observe to you, that our celestial government regards all persons and nations with eyes of charity and benevolence, and always treats and considers your subjects with the utmost indulgence and affection; on their account, therefore, there can be no place or occasion for the exertions of your Majesty's government."

Mr. Manning. In the month of May Sir Joseph Banks addressed the Chairman of the Court of Directors, soliciting their permission for the resort of Mr. Thomas Manning to Canton. The object that gentleman had in view will be best described by his own letter to Sir Joseph.

"Having long been struck, both from books and conversation, with the want of uniformity in the opinion of men (even the best informed), relative to the ancient history, manners, and language of China, arising partly from the meagreness of information, and partly from the want of confidence in the relations of the missionaries and others, I did many years ago form the design of attempting to explore that country myself, and by my own observations and researches on these and other curious objects, to dissipate some of the obscurity and doubt which hangs over its moral and civil history.

"I am, and always have been, fully aware that certain qualifications and peculiarities are necessary to ensure success in such an undertaking, and I by no means wish to pass over this subject in silence. Of course I neither mean to claim or disclaim any pretensions on this point on my own authority; I can only say that I have not taken up my determination from a random and unauthorised curiosity, but guided by what I consider as a con-

sciousness of my forces and peculiar fitness; but on this subject I do most earnestly desire to refer to those who know me, and particularly to Dr. Davy, the present learned and worthy master of Caius College, Cambridge. In that University and that College I was educated. I there pursued my mathematical studies to an unusual extent, and have there given lectures in all the branches of that science. I have long been conversant with the theory of medicine, and have for the last six months been attending to its practice both in the Westminster Hospital and otherwise. A.D. 1806.

"Immediately upon the signing of the preliminaries of the late peace with France I pleaded my scientific pursuits to Lord Pelham, and on that plea was granted a passport for travelling into France. During the three years I resided in that country, I devoted a considerable portion of my time to the attainment of an elementary knowledge of the Chinese language, and it was from my regular attendance at the National Library at Paris, as student of that language, before the present war, and from the notoriety of my pursuits as a man who had destined himself to voyages of discovery, that I obtained my passport from the French government, in the autumn of 1804, for quitting the territory of France, which passport I claimed on those grounds and on no other, and it had been on the same ground that, after having been made prisoner of war, I was still suffered to remain in Paris to pursue my studies.

"It was my intention to have proceeded from England first to Russia, and thence to have endeavoured to make my way into China, by the north; but not having found in England any of the opportunities I had expected of improving myself in the Chinese language, and being persuaded that to attempt travelling in China, otherwise than as a fugitive, without a competent knowledge of the language would be idle, I have given up that plan, and am now anxiously desirous of first residing such time at

A.D. 1806. Canton, under the protection of the Company, as may be necessary for acquiring the requisite previous information; and in case no opportunity should offer during my stay at Canton for my obtaining permission from thence, I propose upon leaving Canton to proceed to such part of the Chinese frontier as I shall then judge most eligible for my purpose.

"My request therefore is, to be permitted to proceed to Canton, and to reside there for the purpose of studying the language and customs of China.

"A compliance with this request would confer on me an obligation, which I should ever have an anxious desire of manifesting my sense of both by my words and by my actions.

"Such, sir, is the outline of my object and wishes. I shall be very happy to furnish you with any further details that you may think necessary, if you will have the goodness to favour me with your command."

The Court notified to the Select Committee their acquiescence in Mr. Manning's request in the following terms:

"In compliance with the request, and at the recommendation of Sir Joseph Banks, we have permitted Mr. Thomas Manning to proceed to China.

"The objects which Mr. Manning proposes to attain by a voyage thither are, first, to qualify himself by studying at Canton the language and customs of China, to explore the country; and after having so done, to proceed from Canton, if he cannot obtain permission to enter the country from thence, to such part of the Chinese frontier as he shall then judge most eligible for his purpose. For a fuller explanation of the objects before-mentioned, we transmit you copies of all the letters we have received relative thereto.

"We have paid Mr. Manning's passage to China, and direct that he be permitted to reside at the Company's factory." A.D. 1806.

The object was in itself laudable. The enterprizing spirit and the qualifications of Mr. Manning, coupled with the belief that the Chinese government were not opposed to the residence of men of science at Pekin, which was his ultimate object, gave promise that the attempt might prove successful. He reached Canton in 1807. The Select Committee expressed the most favourable sentiments towards him, and bore testimony to his uniformly correct conduct during his residence with the factory. In November 1807, the Select Committee sanctioned the presentation of a petition from him to the hoppo, requesting to be received into the service of the Emperor of China, grounded on an imperial edict which had been issued, directing the mandarins of the province of Canton to procure for the service of the Emperor Europeans learned in the sciences. Mr. Manning, however, failed in his attempt to procure an interview with the hoppo, owing to that officer not visiting the ship on board which Mr. Manning remained.

Before the Anchaszee, who had visited the Committee on the 6th November, finally quitted the room, Mr Manning, having previously obtained leave of the Committee, presented a petition, offering his services to his Imperial Majesty as astronomer and physician. The Anchaszee, on

A.D. 1806. reading the petition observed, the application ought not to have been made to him, but through the Hong merchants to the Hoppo; he nevertheless retained it, and promised to acquaint the viceroy with its contents.

The Hong merchant, Puankhequa, waited on the president the 17th November with an edict* issued by the Hoppo, relative to the application made by Mr. Manning to the Anchaszee on the 6th. The purport of the edict was to acquaint that gentleman that his offer of services to the Emperor could not be accepted, or even communicated to his Majesty, while there continued to be a sufficient number of European astronomers already at Pekin, which the Hoppo inferred to be the case, from the refusal which the offers of Messrs. Dumugel and Richenet experienced two years ago, after those gentlemen had actually commenced their journey to Pekin.

The Hoppo directed the Hong merchants to ascertain the ship by which Mr. Manning intended to take his departure to Europe, but the edict conveyed no express order for his quitting that country.

In February 1808, Mr. Manning proceeded to Cochin-China, in the hope of being permitted to remain there, and from thence accomplish his object of visiting the interior of China.

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* Not recorded.

The Select Committee, in order to promote the intercourse which the Court were desirous of establishing with that country, communicated their views on the subject to Mr. Manning, who would avail himself of every opportunity that might offer to forward their interests. A.D. 1806.

Failing in this attempt he proceeded to Bengal, and from thence attempted to enter China through Bootan, Tibet, and Tartary; but in this he was likewise defeated, it having been ascertained that the Chinese authorities in those parts had full information of his views and intentions. Such is the vigilance with which they watch the movement of any individual regarding whom they have any reason of suspicion,

The results of the brilliant administration of the Marquis Wellesley, and military achievements of Sir Arthur Wellesley and Lord Lake in India, which led to so great an extension of the British power, are believed to have excited strong feelings of jealousy towards the English, and thus to have operated unfavourably to the views of Mr. Manning. He accompanied the embassy of Earl Amherst to Pekin in 1816. On his return to England he drew up a paper of Observations on the Consumption of Tea in Bootan, Thibet, and Tartary.

The Select Committee had again been involved in embarrassing discussions with the Chinese in favour of his Majesty's ships frequenting China, H. M.'s ships.

A.D. 1806. and although there was no hope that these claims would be officially recognized, the anchorage at Chunpee near the Bocca Tigris was tacitly acquiesced in, and the supply of stores, &c. at that anchorage openly permitted.

A.D. 1807. Consoo fund. On the 8th April the Court directed the supra-cargoes, on the receipt of their letter, to summon the whole of the merchants and acquaint them with the Court's surprise at their continuing the Consoo fund, and in the event of their refusing to desist, the Committee were to solicit the Canton government to withhold its sanction to a continuance of the tax, no matter what the opinion of the merchants might be, as to such application, unless the Committee were themselves satisfied it would be inexpedient, and if so, then they were to state their reasons for such opinion.

The existence of this fund was urged as an intolerable grievance in the course of the parliamentary investigation of 1830.

British sailors, and stoppage of trade. In the month of March the Company's trade was put a stop to by the Chinese, in consequence of the death of a native in an affray with some of the sailors belonging to the Company's ship Neptune, in the vicinity of the factory, on the morning of the 24th February, where they had been purchasing spirits. A disturbance having arisen, the commander and officers soon quelled it by securing their men within the factory, but the Chinese having followed them in great numbers,

continued throughout the day to throw stones at the factory and at every European passing, although the mandarins and security merchants were present, and called out, but ineffectually, to disperse the mob. The sailors eluded their officer, rushed out, and although immediately brought back, they in the sally caused the death of a Chinese. The Committee, immediately on hearing of the event, applied to the security merchant for the ship to prevent the interference of the mandarins, but did not succeed in effecting their object. A committee of inquiry was held on board the Neptune, but without obtaining any evidence of the guilt of any party. Mowqua, who was involved in most serious difficulties by the event, offered 20,000 dollars for the discovery of the perpetrator. The Select Committee resolved to comply to the fullest extent with every reasonable and just demand, but to resist with firmness every thing of a contrary nature. The authorities had offered to permit every ship but the Neptune to receive cargo, provided they did not sail until the discovery of the murderer: to this the Committee would not accede.

A.D.1807.

Death of a Chinese.

On the 21st April the Committee advised the prospect of a termination of the difficulties, and on the 29th April they announced the dispatch of the concluding fleet of the season, and entered fully into the circumstances connected with the late event. The attempt of the Committee to discover

A.D. 1807. the parties proving ineffectual, and the Chinese offering no clue which might lead to a discovery, the Committee determined to decline any further investigation; the government still abstaining from measures of open violence, as well as from private attempts at seizure of any of those persons among the Europeans, whom in such cases they consider responsible. A forbearance so very different from the system of conduct adopted on former occasions, was ascribed much less to a spirit of mildness and moderation than to a consciousness of the weakness of their cause, and a perception of the very great additional weight and responsibility which the English name had from various causes acquired in China within the preceding twenty years, and which they conceived might have excited a suspicion that acts of extraordinary outrage or unjust aggression against it might no longer be attended with impunity.

Examination at Canton.

It was ultimately arranged, that an examination of fifty-two men of the Neptune should take place at the factory, where the Chinese consented to hold the court of inquiry, though originally they insisted on its being held in the city, and that according to custom torture should be inflicted. The latter, of course, was not admitted. Although the forms and solemnities of a Chinese court of justice were observed, an important concession was made in favour of the Committee, seats being provided for Captain Rolles of his Majesty's ship Lion, the

members of the Committee, and for Sir George Staunton, and two of Captain Rolles' marines with fixed bayonets were allowed to remain sentries at the door of the factory during the whole of the examination. A.D. 1807.

The Chinese produced no evidence, but Captain Buchanan and the officers of the Neptune having admitted on examination that eleven of the men had been most violent, it was hoped that decreeing some punishment against these men would have satisfied the Chinese; but it was on record that a man had been killed, and as the magistrates had failed in discovering the perpetrator, different degrees of punishment or degradation awaited every officer connected with the administration of justice, only to be averted by making some one individual responsible for the offence.

How to fix upon one person appeared to be the difficulty. It was at last arranged, that one of the eleven, considered by the mandarins as the most guilty, should be named. This was not objected to, provided Mr. Buchanan would testify that they all of them struck the Chinese. Edward Sheen was accordingly named: the other ten were sent on board the Neptune, there to be punished as the commander saw fit, Sheen remaining in custody of the Committee.

It was understood with the merchants that the payment of a sum of money to the relations would

A.D. 1807. suffice; when, however, the Committee were preparing to quit Canton for Macao, the mandarins objected to Sheen's proceeding thither. This circumstance led to a declaration from Captain Rolles, that he felt it to be utterly inadmissible to allow Sheen to remain at Canton, and after warm and repeated expostulation, no concession could be obtained until Captain Rolles, on the refusal of the merchants to present a spirited remonstrance to the viceroy, was on the point of sending Sheen down in his own boat to his Majesty's ship Lion. The whole affair, however, fortunately terminated in an edict permitting the release of the individual when the Emperor should see fit, and on payment of a pecuniary fine.

The Committee attributed the satisfactory termination of the affair to the judicious, and at the same time firm conduct of Captain Rolles.

The whole of the proceedings regarding the affair of the Neptune received the approbation of the Court, who expressed their entire satisfaction with the ability and firm conduct displayed by the Committee, and also the sense which they entertained of the important services rendered by Captain Rolles and Sir George Staunton. Captain Rolles was presented with £1,000 by the Court of Directors, and Sir George Staunton was appointed by the Court Chinese interpreter to the factory.

An original copy of the Emperor's edict in the

case of Sheen was received by the Court from the Select Committee in 1808. It was referred to Sir George Staunton, then in London, for the purpose of being translated. The laws of China applicable to the case having been fully adverted to, it declared, "that there was no predisposition to inquire; and the case being evidently agreeable to the construction stated in the commentary upon the law of accidental homicide, the said Edward Sheen ought, therefore, conformably to the provisional sentence submitted by the viceroy to his Majesty, to redeem himself from the punishment of death by strangulation (to which he would otherwise be liable by the law against homicide by blows) by the payment of a fine of 12*t.* 4*m.* 2*c.* to the relations of the deceased, for defraying the expense of burial, and then be dismissed, to be orderly governed in his own country. A.D. 1807.

"We thus reverently laid before his Imperial Majesty our deliberate judgment upon this case with the considerations whereupon it is founded, and humbly solicited a declaration of his Majesty's pleasure regarding the same."

"On the 17th day of the 11th moon of the 12th year (January 1808), the address was laid before his Majesty and received his Majesty's answer in these words: *we ratify your judgment.*" A.D. 1808.

The Court sent a copy of the translation to Canton in their letter of February 1809, in which they strongly pressed upon the Committee the A.D. 1809.

A.D. 1809. importance of guarding against future riotous conduct on the part of the seamen.

Impressing Seamen in China. A complaint was at this time preferred by the Americans against Captain Pellew, of his Majesty's ship Phaeton; and a copy of the edict was forwarded by the Select Committee to Captain Pellew. His reply to the supracargoes is not upon record, but there appeared to be little doubt that Captain Pellew had exceeded the rights of the British flag, by impressing seamen from American ships within the limits of the Chinese empire.

A.D. 1810. Expedition to Macao, 1808. The next occurrence which demands notice is deserving of particular attention, as it not only shews that we have recognized the right of the Portuguese to the settlement of Macao, but marks the jealousy with which the Chinese view any approach to their territories by a foreign force, although with no hostile intention towards their nation, and evinces their determination to have withstood, however ineffectually, the extreme measures to which Admiral Drury (then in command of the naval force in India), manifested his intention to resort, in the prosecution of the service in which he was engaged.

The whole subject came under the review of the Court of Directors in this year.

In the month of March 1808, the Select Committee communicated to the Bengal government a vague report which had reached them, of the in-

tentions of the French with regard to the settlement of Macao. A.D. 1810.

It was suggested that Macao ought to be placed in a better state of defence, and an opinion was offered that no apprehension need be entertained of embarrassment from the Chinese government, if permission were obtained from the Portuguese for that purpose.

The Bengal government resolved, that a military force should be sent to take possession of Macao; but the commanding officer was directed not to adopt any steps without the knowledge and concurrence of the Select Committee, who were cautioned by the Bengal government to bear in mind the orders of Lord Wellesley of the 20th November 1801, for guarding against the effect of jealousy on the part of the Chinese government.

It appears that the Portuguese were pledged to the Chinese government not to admit the troops of any nation into Macao without their previous consent.

Admiral Drury, who commanded the naval part of the expedition, having learnt, about the 15th September 1808, that a considerable French force was off Java, the only point appeared to be the expediency of applying to the Chinese government for leave to land the troops at Macao. This the Committee decided in the negative; and they resolved on the 18th September, in opposition to Macao 1808.

A.D. 1810. the declared sentiments of the governor of Macao and to the known feelings of the Chinese, to land the troops. On the landing taking place a letter was received from the Hoppo protesting decidedly against the step. The reply of the viceroy to the admiral's letter, which explained the motives for landing the troops, contained a strong remonstrance against that measure having been adopted without permission, and threatened to represent the whole to the Emperor. An order was issued by the local native authorities for the withdrawal of the troops, and they declared that they would entreat the Emperor to interdict in future the commerce of our ships. The Chinese troops were ordered down to compel us to evacuate, and in the event of refusal it was intimated that they would burn the ships at Whampoa, and secure the English and put to death or punish them.

Notwithstanding this unfavourable disposition, as well as an order for the Chinese servants to quit the commanders at Canton, which had obliged those officers to retreat precipitately to their ships, the second detachment of troops, which had arrived on the 20th October, convoyed by his Majesty's ship Doris, was likewise landed under the sanction of the supracargoes.

Macao 1808. A member of the Select Committee arrived at Canton on the 27th October, and pointed out the importance of avoiding further umbrage to the Chinese. The Select Committee, however, stated

on the 3d November, "the impossibility of giving way to the Chinese so long as they persevered in their haughty conduct." A.D. 1810.

All intercourse between the Select Committee and the viceroy through the merchants having ceased, the Committee, on the 5th November, prepared a letter to the viceroy, requesting a person might be appointed to receive their representation on the whole question, and sent it by some members of the factory. It was delivered to a mandarin, and the Committee were informed that the viceroy had seen the letter, but did not think a compliance necessary, "as the troops must be removed, their remaining on shore being contrary to the law of the empire;" and on the 7th November the Committee, in a conference with two of the merchants, stated that under the haughty conduct of the Isontock, the admiral could not remove any troops, "as it might have the appearance of fear."

It was ultimately recommended by the Committee, that the admiral should demand an audience of the viceroy, being perfectly satisfied that they had nothing to expect from the friendly disposition of the Chinese government, and had no other means of carrying their point than by *intimidation*.

No answer having been received on the 9th November to this demand of the admiral, the Committee considered it would afford strong

A.D. 1810. Macao 1808.

ground for complaint at Pekin, in any representation which might be determined upon, and at the same time justify the admiral in any immediate steps he might adopt.

Addresses were sent from the admiral to the viceroy, through Captain Caulfield, of his Majesty's navy: but he remained as firm as ever with respect to the absolute necessity of removing the soldiers. The admiral, after expressing to the Select Committee his feelings at having been forced against his inclination, stated "that he must now guard against advancing a step further, as the sword is half-out of the scabbard, and his duty forbids him making war with China."

After another letter from the admiral to the viceroy, which the latter declined to receive, the president, on the 19th November, intimated his intention of ordering all British subjects to quit Canton in forty-eight hours, and considered the best effects would follow if his Majesty's ships were brought to an anchorage higher up the river.

On the 21st November a declaration of the viceroy was communicated to the president, that his (the viceroy's) conduct had been marked with the greatest forbearance; that he was prepared, should they venture to make war with China, but that he should not commence; and if the Committee thought proper to remove the ships he had no objection, but that they must not expect to be

permitted to return. Troops were brought and encamped upon the several hills, and fire vessels were threatened to be sent down amongst the Company's shipping. A.D. 1810. Macao 1808.

On the 4th December the Select Committee assembled at Macao to receive the Emperor's edict for withdrawing the troops before the trade would be permitted.

The Committee were informed by the mandarins "that obedience to the laws would settle every thing."

A chop was addressed to the admiral by the Isontock with the Emperor's decree for withdrawing the troops, notwithstanding which the president, instead of relaxing, determined to be more active in preparation for defence; in consequence of which the batteries of the Bogue fired on the ships going up and down, and obliged the Antelope to return the fire upon the forts of the Bogue. The president, sensible of the crisis, still determined to persevere, and although the admiral proposed to pledge himself to the viceroy that the troops should be withdrawn on the trade being opened, the president was averse to make it a condition.

On the 6th December 1808, another camp was observed to be formed on the heights of French Island, and on the following day the viceroy wrote to the admiral that he would cause all debts to be paid, stating for the last time, "that while there

A.D. 1800. Macao 1808.

remained a single soldier in Macao and the laws disobeyed they should not trade," and that if he hesitated a moment "innumerable troops would be sent to destroy him."

On the 8th, after some remonstrance from the admiral against holding out any longer, the President gave way, and proposed to the Committee to act under the Emperor's answer, as affording a fair pretence for relinquishing the point.

A convention was concluded at Macao on the 10th, and the troops embarked on the 15th, and the whole completed by the 20th.

Thus, after fruitless discussion for weeks, and the adoption of every measure short of hostilities to support the original plan of occupying Macao, the Chinese adhered to the demand with which they set out, *viz. the withdrawal of the troops*, to which the Committee were obliged to submit before the trade was permitted to be resumed. Thus affording another decided proof of the inflexibility with which the Chinese insist on the observance of their laws and regulations.

The Select Committee was displaced by the Court of Directors, who appointed a gentleman that had formerly been in China to fill the office of president, with a new committee appointed from members of the factory below those who had been parties to the foregoing proceedings. The new president was invested with powers to act upon his sole responsibility.

In consequence of precautionary measures, which the new viceroy, who arrived at Canton in the month of May 1809, had thought proper to recommend, with reference to further inquiries as to the late expedition, an edict had been received from the Emperor, directing that the Company's ships should not be permitted to trade or to enter the river until a report had been made to Pekin and the imperial pleasure obtained. A long correspondence ensued with the Chinese authorities, and it was not until the 16th September that the Viceroy would present a petition from the Select Committee on the subject. A delay of thirty days occurred before an answer was received. On the 25th October the Emperor ordered the foreign trade to be placed on its former footing. A.D. 1810.

In February 1810 a discussion took place at Canton in consequence of the death of a Chinese, stated to have been caused by an English seaman, but of which no proof could be adduced. The ships, though loaded, were refused the grand chop, notwithstanding that the two Chinese who declared they could point out the man who had committed the murder, on being confronted with the men (who they represented to belong to the Royal George), were unable to fix upon either. Death of a Chinese.

The ships were despatched to the second bar without a chop. The grand chop was however issued, upon condition that the man, when dis-

A.D. 1810. covered, should be punished agreeably to the laws of England,* and the Committee suggested that some communication should be made from the Court or his Majesty's ministers, to shew that it had received attention.

In September 1810, in consequence of some representations from the supracargoes then at Macao to the viceroy at Canton as to the employment of native servants, it was declared by the local authorities "that the established laws and prohibitions of the Celestial Empire were rigorous; foreign merchants must obey them, and they cannot rent houses or dwell a long time at Canton."

The system of piracy which had so long existed on the southern coast of China, and under which the greatest ravages had been committed, was finally suppressed by the united efforts of the Portuguese and Chinese, the supracargoes supplying what stores were wanted for the Portuguese vessels.

In January 1810, one of the chiefs with four thousand followers surrendered, and another more powerful chief with a larger number, shortly afterwards gave in his allegiance.

Measures had been taken for securing aid from the Bengal government, but the object was effected before the vessels which that government had dispatched to Canton reached China.

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* Vide Appendix to Penal Code of China, by Sir George Staunton, p. 523.

In consequence of the assurance given that the death of the Chinese by the English seamen would be taken up in this country, the matter was brought under the consideration of the Privy Council, and the suspected men discharged, because according to the laws of England they could not be put upon their trial. A communication was made by the president of the India Board to the viceroy. A.D. 1811.

Mowqua, a Hong merchant, waited on the president on the 27th December, to inform him (as he said) by the desire of the Quang-chow-foo, that the four Italian missionaries who had long been resident at Pekin, but for whose services the Emperor had no further occasion, were shortly expected at Canton, and that it was the intention of government that they should not remain there more than fifteen days, but return as expeditiously as possible to their native country. He wished therefore to know whether (as there were no Italian ships in China either arrived or expected) the president would procure them a passage in any of the Company's ships. Italian Missionaries.

The missionaries were Adeotato, Anselmo, Ferretti, and Conforti. The Committee had previously heard from the agent of the mission at Macao, that they were four of the eleven missionaries who had been till lately employed in the service of the Emperor at Pekin, and who, after a residence at the court of between twenty and

A.D. 1811. thirty years, received orders in the month of July, without any other cause assigned than their services being no longer required, that they were to prepare for their immediate departure for Europe. The increased apprehensions and suspicions entertained by the government respecting their religious views were the real causes of their unlooked-for and unfeeling expulsion from the Chinese empire, and it was most probable that their brethren who still remained at Pekin would have been dismissed likewise, if the assistance of Europeans in the formation of the Imperial Calendar * and astronomical observations could by any means have been dispensed with.

They reached Canton on the 3d January 1812. The Select Committee, in consideration of their destitute condition and the services which one of them had rendered to Lord Macartney's embassy, made them their guests at the factory until they quitted Canton for Manilla.

On the 24th September a new Hoppo, inimical to foreigners, issued a proclamation interdicting addresses from Europeans,

Trade stopped. On the same date the Hoppo addressed the merchants against a member of the factory who was president during the expedition to Macao in

* This corroborates the importance stated to be attached to the formation of the imperial calendar already noticed in page 113.

1809 being allowed to reside at Macao, expecting that he would get himself again made chief and create disturbance. The factory arrived at Canton on the 30th September: discussions on the point continued until November. The local authorities wishing to make the permission for that member repairing to Canton dependent upon the ships being immediately unloaded, the Committee determined that, previous to any discussion as to unloading the ships, permission for all persons belonging to the English establishment to come to Canton must be granted. On the 22d November the president addressed the viceroy, requesting permission for such member to proceed to Canton; but he died at Macao on the 23d of that month. On the following day the president addressed the merchants informing them of the event, and stated that the principle upon which the Committee acted was in no way altered by that circumstance. A.D. 1811.

On the 22d December an edict by the Hoppo was published which was deemed satisfactory by the Committee, as the local authorities disclaimed all right to interfere in appointments to the Company's factory.

The trade which had been stopped for two months was then opened. A.D. 1813.

In the month of April his Majesty's ship Doris arrived in Macao Roads with her prize, the American ship Hunter, captured off the Ladrones, A.D. 1814. H. M.'s ship Doris.

A. D. 1811. The Chinese authorities addressed the president, pointing out the " violation of the injunctions of the Celestial Empire, and desiring the Doris might be directed not to intercept the Americans going out of the river."

The Committee considering that the capture was made without the limits of the Chinese jurisdiction, a representation was made by them to the Kean-min-foo, or magistrate of the district of Macao, that the Americans had declared war against the English, and that the commander of the English ship had orders to capture the American vessels. This was followed by an edict of the Hoppo, directing an inquiry to be made into the circumstances of the return of the Doris after she had convoyed the ships, and also ordering the ships to return to their respective countries, " if they o'erstep their own proper duties and create a disturbance in the least degree on the shores of the Celestial Empire."

The discussions which arose out of this event continued till the month of December following. In the course of the proceedings it was observed by the Chinese, " if the English and Americans have petty quarrels, let them go to their own country and settle them," and the Select Committee were required to send the Doris away; to which they replied, " that the captains of his Majesty's ships not being under their control they must recommend application to be made to them.

To this the merchants observed, "that their government only knew the Committee, and to them for all affairs concerning the English they always applied; that they had endeavoured to explain to the viceroy and officers that his Majesty's ships and captains were not under the control of the Committee, but that the viceroy would not attend, observing that the ships of war came to protect the commerce, and hence the connection." A.D. 1814.

The viceroy issued an edict prohibiting the employment of native servants by the factory, upon which the Select Committee represented that for one hundred years they had been permitted to employ native servants, and that as they required many attendants, if all were Europeans the chance of disturbance would be very great, which they were desirous to avoid.

Discussions with Chinese.

The Select Committee then at Macao received on the 15th September, accounts of the officers of government entering the factory unexpectedly, and giving orders for the seizure of all Chinese attendants.

The Committee, in the letter to the Hong merchants on the subject of the native servants, represented that any insult to themselves or their dwellings would not be submitted to, as they had too just a sense of the intentions of the Emperor (to whom if attacked they would immediately state their case), to suppose that he would allow either the officers of his government or them-

A.D.1814. if they had been instrumental in the aggression, from passing with impunity. The Committee determined, for the protection of the Company's property, that the Company's ships should not enter the river.

The most peremptory orders were issued by the Chinese for the expulsion of the Doris from the inner waters, and the government proceeded with every hostility against the English. They suspended the trade; intercourse between the men of war and the Indiamen was denied; the liberty so long granted to the flag was abused by stopping Captain Patterson in his boat, between Whampoa and Canton, though proceeding with the regular passes, and forcibly carrying him to the chop-house, and on pretence of executing the orders of the viceroy, it was with difficulty the chests and effects of the Europeans could be embarked.

The Committee's linguist, Ayou, was seized on the 8th October.

In the subsequent discussion it was avowed that this step, as to Ayou, was in no way connected with the affair of the factory, but with his having attempted to purchase admission to the mandarins.

A summary was drawn up by the Committee of the points in dispute, who resolved on its publication at Canton, Chunpee, &c.; it was however kept back, in consequence of a more conciliatory

disposition being evinced by the local authorities. A.D. 1814.
Sir George Staunton was deputed to Canton, the viceroy having consented to appoint a mandarin to meet him for the purpose of negotiation. In the event of its failing, Sir George Staunton was authorized to deliver at the city gates an address to the Emperor, as the last act before he left Canton.

On the 20th October Sir George Staunton proceeded to Canton, accompanied by Sir Theophilus Metcalfe and Mr. Davis. Sir George then stated, "that he was charged by the Committee with several communications of importance, but in none of them was any thing proposed for themselves, more than the prosecution of a fair and equitable commerce under the protection of his Imperial Majesty; that they entertained every disposition to obey his laws; that they sought for no innovations, nor were desirous of interfering in any affairs of government in which they were not concerned."

Sir George then adverted to the arrest of the linguist, who was sent with a gold box to Pekin as a present to Seing-ta-jin for his services to the embassy under Lord Macartney. They did not complain that the box was not received, but that the man was arrested for carrying it, and that the act of carrying it was stigmatized as a crime. It was replied, there was no intention to condemn a transaction which the Emperor himself had not

A.D. 1814. disapproved; they might be perfectly easy on that head, as his punishment was for a totally different business.

Meetings took place on the 24th, 26th, 28th, and 29th October at the Company's factory. After discussions principally as to the arrest of the linguist, the viceroy determined to break off the negociation. This extraordinary and unexplained circumstance left Sir George Staunton no alternative but that of quitting Canton: he accordingly joined the Company's ships and moved them from Whampoa below the second bar, previously desiring all British subjects to quit Canton.

On the 12th and 14th November, deputations of the hong merchants went down to the ships, then nearly at the Bocca Tigris, and requested Sir George Staunton to suspend the further movement of the ships, adding that they were authorized to state that the viceroy would depute a mandarin to discuss the remaining points in dispute. Sir George Staunton returned to Canton on the 15th November.

Howqua having plainly intimated that a mandarin would not be sent until the trade was commenced, Sir George Staunton stated that he should immediately quit Canton, and at the same time pointed out very fully the "unparalleled disgrace and dishonour which must fall upon himself (Howqua), his government, and his country, if the promise, upon the truth of which the Eng-

lish gentlemen had returned to Canton, were to be so shamefully violated." A.D. 1814.

Sir George Staunton then joined the other merchants and Mr. Molony.

The merchants stated, if the mandarins retracted it was not the fault of the merchants. Sir George Staunton observed, that such a breach of national faith could not take place without infamy and heavy responsibility attaching somewhere. The Hong merchants were the only official organ of government to which foreigners had access. Whether they had pledged the faith of the country without authority to do so, or having done so with authority, the mandarins had unjustly refused to ratify their acts, foreigners were injured and the honour of the country equally committed, and they could not doubt for a moment that the Emperor, when made acquainted with the circumstances, would punish in an exemplary manner an act so scandalous and disgraceful. Sir George concluded by observing, that much as we had to complain of at former times, nothing, he believed, at all parallel to the present case could be found upon the records of the Company. The merchants could allege nothing against these arguments, and after a little conversation among themselves, agreed to consult with the mandarins.

On the 19th November the mandarins met Sir George Staunton with the Nan-hai-heen in the president's apartment, where Sir George verbally,

A.D. 1814. and afterwards in written Chinese characters, stated the several propositions, *viz.*

" 1st. The necessity of being allowed to address the Chinese authorities in the Chinese language and of receiving answers thereto. If addresses are forwarded in the English language, which is not understood either by government, the Hong merchants. or the linguists, they would be exposed to false translations, and affairs and intentions be misrepresented. These addresses to be forwarded to the supreme authorities without inquiry as to the causes or contents of such addresses. Thus, while, agreeably to the established maxim, government becomes accessible to the concerns of the people on the one hand, we also, on the other, may have due knowledge of the pleasure and intention of government.

" 2d. That no disrespectful or contemptuous language be used in edicts addressed to the English merely because they are foreigners.

" 3d. The factories in the occupation of foreigners, though not in all respects eligible, are sufficient for their accommodation; but if the local magistrates or their attendants are at liberty to enter them at their pleasure, neither our persons nor our property can any longer be considered in a state of safety. This point is in our estimation of great importance, and we therefore earnestly intreat that the magistrates be prohibited from such irregular visitation of the resi-

dences of foreigners. When there is really occa- A.D. 1814.
sion to do so, or a personal communication proposed, it is requested that notice be previously given and the motives explained; thus no misunderstanding will take place, and we shall continue to possess our former abodes in peace and tranquillity.

"4th. That the captains in the boats, with their flags flying, be not unnecessarily detained by the Hoppo boats.

"5th. For these hundred years past it has been customary to employ as porters, door-keepers, and attendants of all kinds, natives of China only. If these natives may not be employed, we shall be quite satisfied to employ our own people, if some other abode is pointed out where there may be sufficient room for that purpose.

"6th. For many years past our ships of war have anchored indiscriminately at the four stations of Chunpee, Kea'ke, Lintin, and Keaking (Macao roads); request they may continue to range within these stations, as wind and weather may render necessary. If those ships of war are ordered to go, it would be equivalent to ordering our merchant ships not to come; and further request that these ships may be supplied with provisions, agreeably to the gracious and benevolent intentions of his imperial Majesty towards all foreigners frequenting his dominions.

"7th. That the necessary communication by

A.D. 1814. boats between the ships of war and the merchant ships be allowed without the intervention of the Hoppo boats.

" 8th. That the Chinese armed boats be not permitted to continue to fire at the country ships, and that English prize goods be not sold by the Americans at Whampoa."

These articles, drawn up for investigation in full confidence of the " gracious and benevolent views" of his imperial Majesty, as expressed in a letter to our gracious Sovereign, contained an assurance that British subjects trading to China were always considered by his imperial Majesty " with the utmost indulgence and affection," which rendered any solicitude respecting them on the part of our Sovereign unnecessary.

On the 29th November a communication was made by Howqua of the decisions passed by the viceroy to the following effect:

" 1st. Permission given to address the government in Chinese through the Hong merchants without the contents being inquired into.

" 2dly. The use of offensive language not very satisfactorily answered.

" 3d. The local magistrate not to visit the factory without giving due previous notice.

" 4th. The communication by boats between Canton and Whampoa to be open and free as usual.

" 5th. Natives may be employed as coolies, porters, tea-boilers, cooks, and in other similar

capacities, but persons not to be hired under the denominations of *keupan* and *thawan*. A.D. 1814.

"6th. Ships of war to remain at their usual anchorages while the ships are at Whampoa, but when they depart the ships of war to depart.

"7th. Boats to receive passes at certain stations.

"8th. The country ships have been fired at as due notice to the Bogue Fort.

"9th. Merchantmen only admitted to Whampoa.

Additional Articles.

"1st. Address to be laid before the Emperor to be written in the foreign character as before.

"2d. Important affairs to be addressed to the viceroy, commercial affairs to the Hoppo, local district affairs to the local magistrates.

"3d. Further arrangements respecting the boats passing the Bogue; the people will then be directed to behave courteously.

"4th. The opening or not of the trade will not be inquired into.

"5th. Notice will be given when natives are tried implicating foreigners."

An edict confirming the same was issued on the 2d December.

Dr. Morrison had compiled and presented to the Court a Chinese and English dictionary. It was a work which had occupied great part of his attention for nearly five years, under the

Dr. Morrison's Chinese Dictionary.

A.D. 1814. impression that it would prove highly advantageous in promoting the acquisition of the native language, not only amongst the Company's representatives but others, and thereby lead to a more intimate acquaintance with the officers of the government and with natives of respectability, and thus gradually remove the ridiculous prejudices entertained against foreigners. He offered to superintend its being printed at Canton, provided adequate means could be procured for that purpose.

The work was to consist of three folio volumes.

Part 1. Chinese and English arranged alphabetically.

Part 2. Chinese and English arranged according to keys, and containing about 40,000 words.

Part 3. English and Chinese.

The Court of Directors resolved that the work should be printed at the expense of the Company. A compositor and pressman was accordingly sent out, with a printing press, and types also provided by the Company.

To avoid all offence to the Chinese the work was to be printed at Macao only. No papers were to be printed for the purpose of being disseminated amongst the Chinese, but as the printer's time might not be fully taken up, the Court sanctioned his employment in printing any useful work connected with philology, or translations from the Chinese language, or original composi-

tions descriptive of the history, manners, and customs, or arts and sciences of China. A.D. 1814.

The Court expressed much anxiety that great care should be taken in cutting the Chinese characters. One hundred copies were to be reserved for the Company, and the rest were to remain with the author to dispose of as he might think proper.

Sir George Staunton undertook, at the instance of the Select Committee, to superintend the work.

In its progress the suspicions of the Chinese were awakened, which led to its discontinuance for a short period.

In July 1816 the first part reached England. A further delay took place in consequence of Dr. Morrison attending the embassy in 1818. The second part was sent home in 1817, and the whole work was completed in 1824.

The Court permitted the press to remain at Macao, in order to facilitate the acquisition of the Chinese language by printing translations and other works, but in no way to be applied for political purposes or without the sanction of the Select Committee.

The strongest testimony was borne by the Committee to the merits of Dr. Morrison, and to the valuable services which he had rendered to the factory in the course of his residence at Canton.

CHAPTER VI.

Embassy of Lord Amherst.—Company's Ship General Hewitt.—His Majesty's Ship Alceste.—And Topaze.—Discussions with Native Authorities.—Ships moored down to Chunpee.—King's Ships not to enter river in time of peace.—Discussions and stoppage of trade.—Edict as to females at Canton.—And as to Ships going to the North-east coast.—Affair of Mr. Innes at Canton.—And case of the Sylph, and contemplated seizure of the Company's Cutter.—Japan.—Concluding Remarks.

A.D. 1815. Lord Amherst's Embassy.

In the month of February the Earl of Buckinghamshire, then president of the India Board, addressed the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors on the suggestion which had been made by a gentleman who had accompanied Lord Macartney in 1793, as to the expediency of sending out another embassy, and amongst other reasons the recent political changes in Europe, the affair of the Doris frigate, and the information received from the Bengal government of an expedition against Nepaul, which was a country believed to be tributary to the Emperor of China, were urged, as recommending the adoption of the measure. The same was laid before the Court, and the matter underwent much

discussion. The Chairs had an interview with the Earls of Liverpool and Buckinghamshire on the subject in the month of May, at which the former noble Lord expressed doubts, after the result of Earl Macartney's embassy, whether the assigned reasons were sufficient to justify the measure in the opinion of the public; but at the same time declared, that if adequate reasons should be brought forward, shewing the measure to be really proper, "he would not be deterred by public prepossession from doing what his duty should require and from heartily concurring in it." A.D. 1815.

The further consideration of the subject was postponed till the advices then expected from China should have been received.

They were received in the month of July, and their contents satisfied both his Majesty's Ministers and the Court of Directors that a mission should be sent from the Prince Regent to the Emperor of China.

Lord Amherst was appointed ambassador. The causes which led to the measure, the objects which were chiefly to be sought in a negotiation there, and such observations as might be likely to afford useful information or suggestion in the difficult task of treating with a court which had shewn such singular indisposition to diplomatic intercourse and free communication, especially with Europeans, were communicated by the Chairs to his Lordship. A.D. 1816.

A.D. 1816. The *causes* were, "the capricious and vexatious proceedings which the local government of Canton had for some time past held towards the Company's representatives there, by which they had obstructed and embarrassed the conduct of the Company's commerce, shewed that it was exposed to arbitrary interruption, to uncertainty, and insecurity, all which were highly prejudicial to concerns of such magnitude and importance, to which the idea of permanence was essential. These proceedings had rendered the task of the supracargoes, in upholding the interests of their employers, extremely difficult, and they occasioned a reasonable apprehension lest the wanton exercise of power in such a government as that of China should lead to an entire stoppage of the trade, either by the immediate act of the local authorities, or by compelling the supracargoes on their part to have recourse to that extreme measure, in order to avoid the still worse alternative of yielding to despotic imposition, which might be expected to derive further encouragement from suspension.

"The *objects* were, a removal of the grievances which had been experienced, and an exemption from them and others of the like nature for the time to come, with the establishment of the Company's trade upon a secure, solid, equitable footing, free from the capricious, arbitrary aggressions of the local authorities, and under the protection

of the Emperor, and the sanction of regulations to be appointed by himself." A.D. 1816.

It was observed if the Chinese were by violence to shut us out from their trade, or by a series of oppressive and vexatious proceedings to force us to abandon it, we might not remain perfectly passive under the great losses and privations that must thus ensue, and they could not but be aware that nothing could be more easy for us than to take possession of their valuable islands to the eastward, which would enable us to intercept the whole of their Asiatic maritime trade, and to carry terror even to the neighbourhood of Pekin itself. It was added, "Justice forbids, and must ever forbid, that such speculations should be really entertained. Their withdrawing from us the liberty of trading in their country could never be a legitimate cause of hostility against them, but the Chinese government, if they were in an unfriendly, inhospitable spirit, by inequitable conduct, to force to a close a pacific intercourse which has subsisted so long, and in which this country has embarked so great a capital, it could hardly fail to resent such a harsh and injurious proceeding."

The admission of an English consul at Canton, as likely to improve the means of communication, and to prevent, or more easily obviate differences and misunderstandings between the local authorities and the supracargoes, was a point to be considered; but if he were to have no other powers

A. D. 1816. Embassy.

than those possessed by other consuls there, they would amount only to such powers as the Company's chief supracargo had always exercised.

The course of policy pursued by the British nation in India was explained, as calculated to satisfy the Chinese that we are not actuated in our conquests by a desire of national aggrandizement.

The importance was pointed out of securing admission to some of the more northern and central parts of China.

The embassy embarked at Spithead on board his Majesty's ship Alceste on the 8th February 1816, arrived off Madeira the 18th February, at Rio Janeiro the 2d March, at the Cape 3d May, Anjeer Roads the 10th June, the Lamma Islands the 10th July, off Hong-kong the 12th, at the mouth of the White River, gulph of Pe-tche-lee the 28th July, where the disembarkation did not take place until the 9th August, when the imperial legate visited Lord Amherst. After arranging that business should not commence till their arrival at Tien Sing, the legate proceeded thither the same evening: the embassy following by water, did not reach that place until the 12th. There they were met by a second imperial legate, when the discussion took place as to the performance of the *ko-tou*. The Chinese asserted that Lord Macartney had complied with it: to this Lord Amherst demurred. Reference was made by the legate as to the injury the trade at

Canton might suffer from objecting to its per- A.D. 1816.
formance. After an entertainment, the meeting broke up.

During the two following days, while on the passage up the river, the ceremony was the chief topic of discussion. The conversation was unpleasantly interrupted by the legate announcing that the Emperor would not allow of the band proceeding to Pekin, but that it should be ordered back to the ship. This was previously to the Emperor being at all aware that the ceremony would not be performed.

Intelligence reached the ambassador the same afternoon that the ships had sailed from the anchorage at the mouth of the White River. This event produced great agitation on the part of the legate, who asked, " in what manner Lord Amherst proposed to return to England?" Lord Amherst stated it depended on the Emperor, but that it was supposed that the embassy would return in the same manner as that of Lord Macartney.

On the 16th August, Lord Amherst was at a very early hour in the morning " roused from his bed " by the legates, with a message that they had an order from the Emperor, leaving no alternative between the performance of the *ko-tou* or immediate return to England. Lord Amherst offered to perform the ceremony, provided he received a formal engagement on the part of the Emperor, that any subject of his deputed to

A.D. 1816. England should be ordered to perform the same ceremony to the British sovereign. There was, however, a determination to adhere without any stipulation to the original order, *viz.* performance, or dismissal of the embassy.

The legates took leave, and the heads of the boats were turned down the river: whether intended as an experiment of the firmness of the ambassador's refusal, or in obedience to the Emperor's order it did not appear.

On the following morning the two mandarins, who acted as conductors of the embassy, stated that two officers of very high rank had been appointed to meet the embassy at Tong-choo-foo, twelve miles from the capital, to renew the negociation as to the ceremonial. It was proposed that a *rehearsal* of the ceremony should take place. This, it was imagined, would ensure a performance, as it was intended that the rehearsal should be of a very public and ceremonious description. This was refused, but a written obligation was offered, that it should be performed before the Emperor upon the condition proposed by the ambassador. This appeared to give great satisfaction. The written obligation was immediately requested, the conference ended, and the boats heads were immediately turned up the river. The two following days passed without intercourse with the conductors, and in the afternoon the embassy reached Tong-choo-foo, where the

navigation of the river terminates, and whence the journey by land to Pekin is about twelve miles. A.D. 1816.

In the evening the legates, whom the ambassador had not seen for four days, called upon him, and entered again on the discussion of the ceremony, adding, that *such report as the ambassador saw fit could be made to England!* This was immediately spurned, and a reiterated statement made of what his Lordship was prepared to do.

Two great men were appointed for the purpose of instructing them in the ceremony; the six mandarins who brought the message behaved with the utmost rudeness.

It was therefore thought necessary to prepare for the attempt. A letter was accordingly drafted to the Emperor, and with this translated into Chinese the ambassador accepted the invitation to a conference, at which it was stated that the ceremony could not be dispensed with. The absurd notion entertained of the Emperor's dignity and supremacy was evinced by the remark, "that as there was only one sun in the firmament, so there was only one sovereign in the universe, the Emperor of the Heavenly Empire."

The proposed letter to the Emperor was then produced. On the superscription bearing his name being held up, it had the effect of checking their lofty tone; no further mention was made of the ceremony, more courtesy was shewn, and

A.D. 1816. the negociations were still considered open. There was reason to believe that the letter had reached the Emperor, for it was asserted that he had himself stated that he knew Lord Macartney had performed the ceremony, and that it was a very bad compliment to refuse the same to him.

In further communications, somewhat of a hostile disposition was manifested towards Sir George Staunton, from an impression that his knowledge of the language would enable him to communicate with the ill-disposed Chinese. This determined the ambassador to demand what was the pleasure of the Emperor as to his departure. Another conference was proposed, at which much courtesy was shewn; but the inflexible determination of the Emperor as to the performance of the ceremony was again stated to Lord Amherst. A compliance, it was suggested, might open a direct correspondence between the Select Committee at Canton and a tribunal at Pekin, and promise of aid was given on the part of the great man. The importance of adhering to the determination originally taken, as a departure from it would encourage the authorities at Canton to adopt measures fatal to the trade, confirmed the ambassador in his refusal.

In the afternoon of the 28th the embassy began its journey to Yuen-min-yuen: it was a night journey. The embassy did not enter Pekin but

passed round the walls, and at sunrise was in the neighbourhood of Yuen-min-yuen. A.D. 1816.

The progress of the ambassador from his arrival at the residence prepared for him and his suite, the rude behaviour of the officers of the court, the difficulty of obtaining a postponement of the audience until the following day, and the receipt on that day of an order for the immediate departure of the embassy from Yuen-min-yuen, formed altogether a most singular specimen of inhospitable and unmanly treatment, "comporting more with the barbarity of a Tartar camp than that which could have been expected even from the most uncivilized of crowned heads."

In the afternoon, at four o'clock, the embassy quitted Yuen-min-yuen.

On the evening of the ambassador's return to Tong-choo-foo Lord Amherst received a visit from two legates, at whose instance a partial exchange of presents took place. The legates requested particularly the portraits of the King and Queen. This was acceded to, and when taken out of the cases, Lord Amherst made a low bow to that of the King, at the same time taking off his hat. The act appeared to mortify the legates. It was stated that the picture would be hung up in the palace.

As the embassy receded from the capital its treatment materially improved. The behaviour of the legate appointed to conduct the embassy to

A.D. 1816. Canton was befitting the high station he filled. At every military post honours were paid to the embassy.

A paper was put into the hands of Lord Amherst on his route to Canton, which shewed the forms to be observed in the performance of the ceremony of the *ko-tou*, and that the ambassador would only have been permitted to remain six days, whereas thirty-six is the term within which no embassy had been sent away.

The embassy arrived at Canton on the 1st January 1817.

In a letter from the Emperor to the Prince Regent was the following passage: "Hereafter there is no occasion for you to send an ambassador so far, and be at the trouble of passing over mountains and crossing seas;" and in a vermilion edict* the following passage: "I therefore sent down my pleasure to expel these ambassadors and send them back to their own country, without punishing the high crime they had committed."

Lord Amherst, in concluding the official account of the embassy, remarks:

"Judging from what has occurred in the instance of the present embassy and of the embassy from Russia in 1805, I conceive that no foreign ambas-

* From its being written on paper of that colour by the Emperor's own hand.

sador is likely be admitted into the presence of the Emperor Kea-king, unless he agrees to perform to its full extent the Tartar ceremony of the *ko-tou*. Perhaps the present Emperor, whose reign has been frequently and very lately disturbed by insurrections of his subjects, may less readily dispense with outward forms of respect than his father, whose reign was long and victorious, and who being found in the possession of real power and authority, might attach less consequence to any shew of external homage." A.D. 1816.

The Company's ship General Hewitt having performed the service for which she was attached to the embassy, repaired to Lintin, where she arrived on the 12th September, application having been made for a chop to admit of her repairing to Whampoa to load with tea for England. On the 26th September intimation was made from the Hoppo's office that the General Hewitt should remain at the second bar, and that his Majesty's ship also expected on returning from the embassy, should keep outside the Bocca Tigris. The chop being addressed to the linguist and not to the Select Committee, the President refused to receive it. A.D. 1816. Ship General Hewitt.

The Committee had already addressed the viceroy requesting orders for the ship coming up to Whampoa, and on expressing their intention to address another letter, the merchants stated it would be impossible for them to be the bearers of

A.D. 1816. it; upon which the Committee intimated that Captain Campbell himself would present it. This caused them considerable alarm, as it had been directed that the commander of the General Hewitt should not appear in Canton.

The Committee addressed their letter to the viceroy, and stated that they were willing to load the General Hewitt at Lintin. No answer was given to this; but war-boats having been placed round the General Hewitt, the Committee, on the 1st October, addressed another letter to the viceroy, Foo Yuen, and Hoppo, requesting their removal, and that the ship might come either to Whampoa or the second bar.

Delay having occurred in granting pilots for the Company's ships Earl of Balcarras and Buckinghamshire, the Committee issued, on the 8th October, orders for their repairing to the second bar with or without a Chinese pilot.

On the 14th October an edict of the viceroy and Hoppo was issued, allowing the stores to be landed from the Hewitt, but precluded the landing of the other articles, such as iron, lead, &c.

The Committee replied to this edict, and adverted to the order of the Emperor that the ship should come to Canton. They also remarked upon the convention of 1814 confirming the right of addressing the viceroy direct, and in the Chinese characters, sending the letter through the merchants. They intimated their intention of or-

dering the Hewitt up to Whampoa, and requested the removal of the war-boats to prevent the possibility of bloodshed; and stated to the merchants the only means of preventing the removal of the ship to Whampoa was by sending down a chop for the teas being shipped. A.D. 1816.

Orders were issued by the Committee to Captain Campbell on the 17th to move the ship up; should the junks fire at her, the Committee remarked, "the honour of your nation requires a return, which if speedily given by a blank cartridge may prevent the necessity of shot. You must be aware of the responsible situation in which we stand, and if the moving or accomplishing the object appears impracticable, you will desist and report the reasons." On the following day the merchants stated that the Hoppo had refused to receive the Committee's address.

The Committee desired no further solicitations might be made from them "for the purpose of obtaining their just rights."

The merchants spoke of the danger of making it an affair of very great consequence. The Committee replied, that they had throughout considered it in that light, and defied them to produce a former instance of so much forbearance.

On the 20th Captain Campbell had made preparations for mooring, but being detained by the tide, consented, at the instance of some mandarins who stated that there must be a mis-

A.D. 1816. take, to wait a further time. The Committee were informed by the merchants, that the letter hitherto refused by the Hoppo had been opened by him; that they had nothing to communicate from him, but asked whether the removal of the war-boats to some distance would not satisfy the Committee. They replied, that the boats must be removed altogether. About five the same evening the merchants returned, and stated that the viceroy determined to await the Emperor's orders, which would take fifteen days; they also stated that a mandarin had been ordered down to the Hewitt, to ascertain her state from the commander. The Committee remarked on the insult thus offered to them; and in advising Captain Campbell of the intended visit of the mandarin, they instructed him to obey their orders for repairing to Whampoa.

On the 21st October a mandarin came on board of the Hewitt, and endeavoured to persuade Captain Campbell to remain a few days. This was not acceded to by that officer, who referred to the Committee's orders. Another mandarin of a high rank came on board, and after some discussion stated, that the vessel should, under his authority, proceed to Whampoa. The Committee expressed a belief that the loading of the Hewitt would have been conceded if they had then possessed sufficient means to enforce it, but observed, "the stoppage of the trade is the only

weapon which can ever be used with success, but it is one which we feel it our duty to employ with the utmost discretion, and we do not consider that in this particular instance it would be of much service." A.D. 1816.

The Hewitt anchored at Whampoa on the 23d, and the Committee applied to the Hoppo to allow her to load immediately.

Captain Jameson proceeds to the city.

On the 24th the merchants having informed the Committee that the Hoppo would not receive the address, and they themselves declining unequivocally to be the bearers of any letter to the viceroy, the Committee determined to depute Captain Jameson to the city with a letter: he was directed to force the way through the city gate and to proceed to the palace of the viceroy, and to present the same to a mandarin. Captain Jameson reported in the evening that, accompanied by most of the commanders and officers, he had succeeded in delivering the letter into the hands of a mandarin of distinction.

On the 25th the displeasure of the viceroy was signified to the Committee at the English proceeding to the city, and stated that some Chinese must have been concerned. The Company's compradore having been summoned, the Committee warned the merchants of their high displeasure in the event of any thing like violence being offered to him. The compradore himself stated he had no cause for fear.

A.D. 1816. At ten at night the Committee assembled to meet the merchants, who had been detained in the city the whole of the day. The Committee were informed that the compradore had been violently accused before the Nan-hae-heen of having been the conductor of the Europeans, and had been beaten and tortured as the lowest criminal and thrown into prison. The Committee expressed themselves in the strongest terms at the outrage so utterly indefensible, and intimated to the merchants that they expected they would forthwith effect the release of the compradore. It was reported that an edict of banishment would be issued against the president.

On the 27th the merchants intimated to the Committee that the viceroy had declined to receive them, agreeably to their desire of the preceding day, but they stated that he would depute three mandarins to communicate to them on some affairs. The Committee resolved not to receive any one until the compradore was released.

The merchants returning in the afternoon, stated that their earnestness on behalf of the compradore had caused him to be again beaten, and that any further interference might cost him his life. An order being issued to seize the head compradore and the president's servant, they were obliged to keep within the house. Mr. Bannerman's Chinese master had also withdrawn himself.

On the 29th one of the merchants called on the

Committee, and stated that a mandarin would come to the factory from the viceroy. The Committee replied, that until the compradore had been released no communication could be entered into. A.D. 1816.

The Cornwall, one of the Company's ships, being ready for sea, the president, as is customary, applied for the grand chop. On the 30th the Committee addressed the viceroy, requesting the liberation of the compradore. On the 3d November the Committee were informed by the senior merchant that the compradore had been released from gaol. The chop not having been issued for the Cornwall, the Committee ordered her to proceed to the second bar and to complete her water.

A.D. 1816. H. M.'s ship Alceste.

On the 4th Captain Maxwell advised the arrival of his Majesty's ship Alceste off Lintin.

On the 8th November, after an edict by the viceroy full of inconsistencies, the merchants waited on the Committee, and stated that the Emperor's edict had been received, granting leave for the Hewitt to receive cargo, but clogged with some condition as to the ship remaining until the ambassador had returned. To this the president would not consent, at the same time stating she should not sail without her port clearance.

On the 16th Captain Maxwell reached Canton, and reported that on the arrival of his Majesty's ship the Alceste off Lintin, a mandarin came on board deputed from the viceroy,

A.D. 1816. He was received by Captain Maxwell with civility, and was requested to inform the viceroy that he wished to enter the Bogue. Fair promises were given, but, after the lapse of two days, another mandarin came on board, and stated that the former was not authorized to act; upon which Captain Maxwell demanded his authority. The mandarin "gave strong assurances of it, and said he would wait on the viceroy if Captain Maxwell would defer for five days." After representing the state of the ship as requiring repairs he consented. Provisions could only be procured at night; the compradore was then in great fear, and war-boats were stationed at some distance. Captain Maxwell having remained at Lintin one day beyond the period agreed upon, weighed anchor and proceeded to Chunpee, where a flotilla of boats was stationed, and a low Chinese was sent to the Alceste to state if she did not anchor a gun would be fired. This imperious demand was scarcely given when a gun, and also several others, were fired. As they were not shotted Captain Maxwell received them as complimentary and returned a salute. Shortly after several shot were fired from the boats and forts, and this while the frigate was in a situation where the charge of committing an error could not be alleged in defence of so violent an aggression; the Alceste being below the acknowleged and prescribed anchorage for ships of war. Captain Maxwell, aware of his superiority

over these boats, crowded with men and incapable of defence, abstained from making a return which the treatment he had experienced would fully have authorized, and merely for the honour of the flag fired a shot over the commandant's boat, which had the effect of silencing the flotilla. The wind failing and the tide being nearly down, the Alceste anchored. A report had been spread that the exertions and fire of the squadron had compelled the ship to desist. The wind proving favourable, in the evening the Alceste got under weigh; it appearing to Captain Maxwell that the best course to be pursued was to maintain the privilege granted to his Majesty's ship Lion in 1793, he instantly determined to proceed within the Bogue. A.D. 1816.

As soon as the frigate weighed, a signal was made from the boats; lights were displayed at the forts, and a brisk cannonade from ninety or one hundred guns was commenced. One shot fell on board the Alceste, and two lodged in the bows of the ship.

When the frigate was within half musket-shot of the forts a broadside was poured into the forts, on which the lights disappeared and the forts on the starboard side were silenced. The forts on the larboard hand, on which the guns could not be brought to bear, continued firing for some time, and the Alceste anchored at the second bar without further molestation.

The course pursued by Captain Maxwell was

A.D. 1816. expected to prove highly beneficial to the trade, and to convince the viceroy that such insults were not to be practised on his Majesty's ships with impunity. By the conduct of the merchants it appeared evident that it was the intention of the viceroy to hush up the affair, and not to acknowledge the firing of guns.

That officer had undoubtedly exceeded his authority, and if an oppportunity should offer of conveying a fair statement to Pekin, the Select Committee hoped to obtain his removal; but they stated, "difficulties might probably occur which would render the attempt hazardous, but with that support from his Majesty's Ministers and the Honourable Court which they were led to hope for, they anticipated the most beneficial effects would be the result." A letter addressed to the viceroy and delivered to the supracargoes by Captain Maxwell, was, at his request, translated into Chinese, and was to be conveyed to the city by his officers, should the merchants refuse to carry it or ensure its reception.

On the 30th December his Majesty's ships Alceste and Lyra reached Whampoa.

The second officer of the Company's ship Surat Castle, in the absence of any Chinese pilot, having offered to take the Alceste up from the second bar, he did so, to the great satisfaction of Captain Maxwell.

A.D. 1817. The Court had received, with the most painful

feelings, the information of the cruelty and injustice with which the Canton Government had treated the compradore and linguist. A.D. 1817.

They considered that the whole of the conduct of the viceroy of Canton, subsequent to the arrival of the General Hewitt from the northward, sufficiently evinced that something had occurred at Pekin in relation to the embassy, which that mandarin felt to be so detrimental to the interests of the English trade, as to encourage him in an open and undisguised opposition to the factory on every occasion.

But, however evident it might appear that the authorities at Canton considered themselves at liberty to exercise a conduct towards the factory so directly contrary to the agreement concluded between the Select Committee and the viceroy and hoppo of Canton in the year 1814, it was nevertheless the duty of the Committee, to whom such important interests were entrusted, to observe the utmost moderation and temper in all discussions with authorities so constituted as those of China.

The supracargoes were assured that at all times, and on all occasions, they might confidently rely on approbation of their proceedings, which were dictated by a spirit of conciliation, and much allowance was to be made from a consideration of the equivocal character in which the Chinese might have viewed the General Hewitt with

A.D. 1817. relation to the fact of her having attended the embassy.

The circumstances connected with the proceedings of the Alceste had not reached England, but the Court felt it necessary to express "their most decided opinion, founded upon a very deliberate consideration of the whole bearings of the commercial question between England and China, that the duty of the Select Committee called for the adoption of a system of moderation and forbearance in all their intercourse with the Chinese, in order to preserve well as to the continuance of the highly beneficial commerce which had been carried on for so many years."

Second Factory. The Court stated, with reference to a memoir submitted by Mr. Ball, the inspector of teas at Canton, in which were pointed out the advantages to be derived from the establishment of a second factory in the province of Fu-keen, that the subject has been specially noticed in the instructions to Lord Amherst, and that if could not be again entered upon; but the Court remarked, that the memoir possessed considerable claim to attention, and that Mr. Ball deserved particular commendation for the zeal and industry which he had manifested on the occasion.

A.D. 1818. An occurrence took place in the month of November, at Canton, which shews the result of an infraction of the native laws, and the consequences which may be apprehended from an

unrestricted intercourse with so extraordinary a people,

A.D. 1818. Illegal Dealings.

A seizure was made in a Chinese shop by the local authorities of property amounting to 29,000 dollars, part of which belonged to the surgeon of the Winchelsea, and a part to another gentleman. The immediate cause of the act was owing to it having been discovered that some raw silk, the property of the latter party, had been prepared in the shop for shipment. The charge of dealing in an article confined to the Hong merchants being substantiated, it was followed by the confiscation of the premises in which the shop was situated.

The Committee were of opinion "that the terms upon which the gentleman in question appeared in Canton, and the nature of his transaction, equally precluded him from any assistance. The surgeon, after vainly representing to the government the equity of distinguishing between his case, in which his traffic had been confined to the smaller articles of commerce consigned by usage to the shopkeepers, and that of the other party, who had encroached upon the monopoly of the Hong merchants, in despair of better terms, compromised his claim by accepting rather less than one-third of its amount from the merchants; but subsequently, under the belief that the viceroy had issued an order for restoring the whole property, renewed his application for at least an avowal of the decision of government. Inferring from the

A.D. 1818. silence of the viceroy, and the hesitation of the merchants in speaking upon the subject, that the decision had been more favourable to the surgeon of the Winchelsea than they were disposed to admit, the Committee felt themselves called upon to address the government, and to restate the circumstances in his case, which rendered it equitable to indemnify him for the loss he had sustained.

At that period it was confidently reported (and subsequent events proved with sufficient foundation) that the Hong merchants, alarmed at the risks of implication which the misconduct of the shopkeepers entailed upon them, and indignant at the extent to which the latter clandestinely trafficked, especially in the valuable articles of raw and manufactured silk, had effected an arrangement with the government, by which all but a very limited number of shopkeepers were excluded from dealing in foreign commodities without the walls of the city. The evil consequences of these new restrictions upon the limited intercourse of foreigners with the natives of China, were sufficiently perceptible to induce the Committee to make some exertions, with the hope, if not wholly of avoiding, at least of diminishing them. They accordingly addressed the government, with the double view of assisting the surgeon of the Winchelsea, and of drawing the attention of the local authorities to the propriety

of establishing certain regulations for the traffic of foreigners with a class of traders below the Hong merchants, but no success attended either point. A.D. 1818.

Two hundred shops in the vicinity of the foreign factories had been closed by order of the viceroy, who drew up a paper containing the refusal, and entered fully into the subject, and pointed out the necessity of enforcing the regulations for one of the Hong merchants becoming security for a limited number of shops, upon which condition alone the latter were allowed to trade in any degree, even in the minor articles of china-ware, bamboos, &c. Two hundred shops closed.

It may readily be conceived how very difficult it will be to institute any adequate supervision, by which the commercial dealings shall be effectually controlled, while at the same time any infringement of the local laws may be expected to lead to much embarrassment.

In April the Court communicated their sentiments on the result of the embassy. They remarked, that "no expense or trouble were spared that appeared calculated to contribute to the success of the mission to the imperial court. To whatever causes its failure may be ascribed (and it is not to our present purpose to investigate those causes), it may, we think, be clearly inferred, that in the event of future disagreements with the viceroy of Canton, no dependence can be placed Court's view of Embassy.

A.D. 1818. on the efficacy of an embassy though appointed and commissioned by the Crown.

"When we directed that your intercourse with the Chinese should be conducted in a mild and conciliatory temper, it by no means follows that we are in any degree inclined to surrender or abandon the immunities and privileges hitherto enjoyed by our factory, and to which the imperial edicts have recognized our just claims. We no more entertain the opinion that the real interests of British commerce are to be preserved by a servile and abject submission on the part of those to whose hands such interests are entrusted, than we expect that our particular commerce with China will be best upheld and maintained, by the use of strong and threatening language in your intercourse with the officers of the government. Allowance should at all times be made for the known habits of the Chinese in their official correspondence.

"Whenever you recur to remonstrance or complaint, the cause should be first well weighed, and the necessity for the measure clearly established; and when, after due deliberation, you may determine on an address to the local authorities, all harshness of expression should be avoided, and great care taken that no personal feeling be suffered to mix itself with the expression of official remonstrance or complaint."

Adverting to the conduct of the Chinese officers having entered the printing-house at Macao, the Court observed, that "it was a very improper act, and formed a fit occasion of remonstrance to the viceroy; but it did not follow that in such remonstrance you were authorized to threaten with summary punishment the officers of the government in case of the repetition of such an act, on the ground that the laws of England give the right of repelling a forcible and disorderly entrance by force of arms. The laws of England and those of China are very dissimilar in many instances, and however superior those of the former may be, it cannot be contended that the Chinese should regulate their conduct to Englishmen residing in China according to the laws and customs of England. All you can justly contend for is, a continuance of the protection hitherto enjoyed, and that the laws of China shall be equally administered to you in common with other foreign residents." A.D. 1818. Printing-house at Macao.

The Select Committee having suggested to Admiral Sir Richard King the propriety of a ship of war annually visiting China, &c., the Court expressed a strong feeling of disapprobation at that step; and observed, that "the intercourse carried on with the dominions of the Emperor of China by the East-India Company is purely of a commercial nature, and it is our fixed determination to preserve that character inviolate, in the whole of the communications which are made by those act- King's ships.

A.D. 1818. ing under our authority with the Chinese. You will therefore, in future, cautiously abstain from making the officers of his Majesty's service parties in any dispute which may arise between you and the Chinese, and you will also be careful, in any differences which may occur between the commanders of the country ships and the Chinese, to carry your interference no further than that of remonstrance or recommendation."

A.D. 1819. In this year the Court entered at some length into a review of the powers possessed by the Select Committee over British subjects in China, and expressed their sentiments as to the mode in which that power should be exercised.

A.D. 1820. Attack on Members of the Factory.

In the month of June 1820 a most outrageous attack was made at Macao on two members of the factory by some Chinese armed with swords and knives, who were determined to wreak their vengeance on them, for their having prevented extortions on landing and shipping passengers' baggage. One of the supracargoes was so seriously wounded that his life was placed in imminent danger.

The Committee having expressed their intention of proceeding to Canton for the purpose of presenting a statement of the circumstance to the viceroy, the Tso-tang, a civil magistrate of Macao, sensible of the enormity of the offence, determined of his own accord to punish the offenders to the utmost of his power, provided the Committee

would abstain from proceeding to Canton. The culprits were beaten and had the wooden collar or cangue for a month. Two of them were immediately placed in chains and paraded round the streets, and measures were taken for apprehending the rest. The Committee, under these circumstances, waived a formal representation to Canton. A.D. 1820. Chinese punished.

In November, the United States frigate Congress arrived at the anchorage at Chuen pee. The circumstance did not produce any offensive measures, beyond her being more strictly watched and surrounded by the Chinese war-boats of the station. She was supplied with provisions under the orders of government, but they would not allow the attendance of a compradore. American frigate.

On the 27th November a Chinese was accidentally shot in a boat at Whampoa. A committee of commanders was nominated by the Select Committee to proceed thither for the purpose of inquiring into the affair. An edict was issued, that the chief should give up the murderer, and a strict search was ordered to be made in every ship for his discovery.

On the 3d December, the day of the search, a butcher of the ship Duke of York destroyed himself in a fit of insanity, and a report of the occurrence was made to the merchants.

The singular circumstance of the event occurring at the moment when the search was about to be

A.D. 1820. made in the ship, presented an opportunity of communicating the fact in such terms, that without a direct asseveration on the part of the Committee that he was the man who caused the death of the Chinese, left the local authorities to infer such was the case.

The Select Committee enjoined the commanders of the Company's ships not to permit fire-arms to be carried in the boats, and they also represented to the viceroy, whom they thanked on the termination of the affair, the necessity of prohibiting the erection of sheds by the river side, on the way from Whampoa to Canton, as spirituous liquors alone were sold there, by which the sailors were intoxicated, and attempts being then made to rob them, riots and quarrels took place, which were followed in some cases by the death of one or other of the rioters, and ultimately led to the difficulties and embarrassments then so lately terminated.

A subsequent attempt was made, at the instance of a military graduate who had returned from Pekin, and whom the Chinese call a Woo-tsin-szee, to induce the father of the deceased Chinese to declare that he was not satisfied that the man who committed suicide was the one who killed his son. The Whampoa magistrate, on hearing of this attempt, came upon the party, seized the conspirators, and entered a prose-

cution against the military graduate for conspiring to excite litigation. A.D. 1820.

In the month of February, owing to some informality in the pilot's chop for the Company's ship Canning, that ship was fired into by the forts at the Bogue and compelled to anchor, notwithstanding she had her grand chop on board. Upon inquiry it appeared the blame was entirely attributable to the negligence of the security merchant and the linguist of the ship, whose duty it was to have seen that the regular passports were provided. A.D. 1821. Ship Canning.

Captain Patterson's prudent conduct, in abstaining from returning the fire of what appeared to him an unprovoked insult, called forth the marked approbation of the Court, for had any serious consequences taken place, the Chinese officer at the Bogue not being guilty of any breach of duty, it might have proved most injurious to the commerce.

On the 15th of the same month an attack was made by some Chinese tradesmen on the person of Captain Adamson in his factory. These men, who appeared to have some claims against one of the officers of the Winchelsea, came in a body to the captain and insisted upon his settling with them. Upon his expostulating with them upon the injustice of some of the demands, and desiring them to "come to him the following morning when he would satisfy them,"

A.D. 1821. some of the party grossly abused him and others violently assaulted him, while one more forward than the rest aimed a blow at his head and laid it open. On the receipt of this intelligence the president immediately sent to the security merchant of the Winchelsea and the officer of the police to inform them of what was going on, and on the following morning the president, accompanied by Goqua, proceeded to Captain Adamson's factory, where the offenders were severely chastised, and Goqua pledged himself to use every endeavour to discover the man who so severely wounded Captain Adamson.

A.D. 1822. The Court of Directors, in their letter of the 24th April 1822, expressed their sentiments on the assault made on the supracargoes at Macao and on the death of the Chinese.

The Court purposely avoided entering upon an investigation of the circumstances attending the death of the Chinese at Whampoa. They remarked that the result arising from an accident of which the Chinese authorities gladly availed themselves, "however advantageous it may be deemed as having prevented any impediment to the regular course of business and the dispatch of our ships, cannot be hailed by us with satisfaction unmixed with feelings of a contrary nature. We are decidedly of opinion, that the maintenance of the British character for truth and honour, independently of its advantages in upholding a strict

moral principle, is of the most important conse- A.D. 1839.
quence to our best interests in China, and that the confidence which the sagacious inhabitants have been taught by experience to accord to all British assertions and pledges of every description, may be considered the keystone of our influence and well-being in that extraordinary country. While we avoid, therefore, any further remarks on the fortuitous combination of circumstances which brought this critical affair to a peaceful conclusion, we should be wanting in duty to ourselves and to the great interests committed to our charge, if we omitted to inculcate upon you in the strongest manner, the paramount advantages which must invariably be derived from a strict and inflexible adherence to truth as the foundation of all moral obligations."

A circular had been issued by the Select Committee to the commanders in 1820, which contained the following clause:

"You are not to salute without our particular directions while your ship remains within the Bocca Tigris, and you are not to suffer your officers or seamen to go shooting, either on shore or on the river, as the most serious consequences to the persons themselves, as also embarrassment to the English trade, would be the consequence of killing or wounding a Chinese. We enclose you an extract of the Chinese criminal code, by which you will perceive that, although such a mis-

A.D. 1822. fortune happened by accident, the Chinese would insist on having the offender delivered up to them."

The Court desired a clause to be added, ordering that, in future, no fire-arms of any description should be taken from on board the Company's ships by any officer or seaman, for any purpose whatever, without permission first obtained of the commanding officer for the time being, and that no commanding officer should be allowed to give such permission until the same should be first expressly and particularly granted by the Select Committee.

Death of two Chinese.

At the commencement of this year the Select Committee were involved in serious discussions with the local authorities, arising out of the death of two Chinese, occasioned by the firing from his

H. M.'s ship Topaze.

Majesty's ship Topaze at Lintin, in the month of December. The barge of that frigate had been dispatched to the island of Lintin for water, and also to enable the seamen to wash their clothes. Whilst engaged on shore for these purposes on the 15th December, they were attacked by a large body of Chinese armed with clubs and bamboo poles with spears at the end, wounding six men severely and bruising eight more. In order to effect the re-embarkation of the seamen, the officer in command of the frigate fired some round shot, and sent the two cutters, manned and armed with marines, from the ship to protect the barge.

Captain Richardson reported this event to the Select Committee, and having addressed a letter to the viceroy representing the circumstances, and calling upon him to punish the delinquents, requested the Committee to allow Dr. Morrison to translate it into Chinese; which they did, and it was ultimately presented, through the aid of some of the officers of the Indiamen, at the city gates, on the 19th December. A.D. 1821

On the following day the Hong merchants waited on the Committee with the letter unopened, to ascertain whether it was really from Captain Richardson. On receiving an assurance to that effect they took it to the viceroy, by whom it was received, and who intimated his intention to depute a person to Lintin to investigate the affair.

Captain Richardson declined to accede to a suggestion of the merchants, that the wounded should be sent on shore to be examined; he had no objection to a mandarin going on board the frigate, but would not suffer any official examination on board the King's ship.

On the 22d, Captain Richardson left Canton for Lintin. On that day the Committee were informed that the Whampoa magistrate would proceed to Lintin to examine into the affair, and that if the men from the Topaze were not sent on shore, and if Captain Richardson departed before the affair was settled, he should hold the

A.D. 1822. chief of the nation responsible. The Committee having been solicited by the merchants to allow the viceroy's answers to Captain Richardson to be sent through them, declared it to be inadmissible.

Stoppage of Trade. The viceroy stopped the trade, and two edicts were issued adverting to the death of the Chinese, in one of which was the following passages:

"Now the men of war of the said nation are originally established to protect and convey merchandize. If it be not on account of trade, why do the said nation's ships of war come hither without any cause? The said chief, in making the men of war and the trade two concerns, talks very absurdly."

"The foreigners of the said nation have heretofore had occasional affairs with the natives, and the usage has always been to command the Hong merchants to order the chief what to do. In the thirteenth year of Kea-king, the said nation's men of war made a pretext of protecting the Portuguese and came to Macao. That affair more than the present had nothing to do with the commerce; yet then the orders were issued to the chief, requiring him to enforce their departure. As the said chief remains at Canton to manage the affairs of the said country, there is no affair that he should not manage. How can he, in consequence of the man of war having killed a native, make up pretext and push the affair from him? It is very highly improper."

"Heretofore the governors have never had official correspondence with the naval officer of the said nation. On this occasion, as his representation said, natives had wounded fourteen Englishmen, I therefore deputed an officer to take with him the Hong merchants and the linguist and go to Lintin, and take an inquest of foreigners who were wounded, and prosecute. If the said man of war really had any men who had received wounds, it was incumbent on her to obey my orders and deliver them up, and wait till an inquest was taken, and proof being obtained, the matter might be examined into and justly prosecuted; but abruptly to request the said deputed officer to go on board to hold an inquest was not only a violation of the forms of government, but a thing impossible to be done; and then to make this a cause of obstinate resistance, excites a suspicion that the tale of fourteen men being wounded was for the most part not true." A.D. 1822.

Orders were given by the viceroy to prevent the Topaze from advancing higher up the river; and an edict was issued, declaring that if the cruizer went away before the affair was settled, the nation's chief and the Hong merchants should be responsible.

The merchant Chunqua, in an interview with the president, suggested that if the Pan Yu were allowed to go on board the Topaze and examine the wounded men, the difficulties would soon be

A.D. 1822 got over. This was made known to Captain Richardson, who consented to receive any person on board with civility, but would not allow of any judicial examination,

An attempt was afterwards made by the merchants, under the declared order of the viceroy, to distribute a copy of the edict amongst the commanders, in order to separate them from the Committee. The commanders returned the edict to the merchants, with a declaration, "that they were entirely under the orders of the Select Committee of the Honourable Company's affairs, and that consequently they were not authorized in holding any correspondence with, or receiving communications of any kind from the Chinese government."

The Select Committee, in consequence of the stoppage of the trade, caused the Company's treasure to be removed from Canton to Whampoa.

The Topaze having moved from Lintin to Macao, an edict was issued by the viceroy, declaring that he held the chief responsible. The Committee stated that they had no control over ships of war, and requested the viceroy to order some able officer to proceed to Captain Richardson.

On the 5th January Dr. Morrison stated to the president, that he had learnt from Chunqua, one of the merchants, that the viceroy had ordered the records of the hoppo and other officers to be searched for every thing concerning the English

trade,* and that the case of the gunner in 1784 was pointed out as a precedent, when, he added, "the military came out to the factories, and a man was delivered up, carried into the city, and after a certain time, was strangled." A.D. 1822.

Measures were accordingly taken, in communication with Captain Richardson, for the immediate removal of every Englishman from Canton, with the view to ulterior measures.

On the 7th January the merchants waited upon the Committee, and represented the necessity of a judicial proceeding, stating, with reference to the Committee's address to the viceroy, that that officer had in a dispassionate, though firm manner, lamented greatly the necessity imposed upon him of enforcing the laws, but at the same time stated, that he felt that duty so imperative that he could on no account abandon it. A.D. 1823.

The Committee, in reference to the circumstances as they then stood, recorded the following remarks:

"Thus we see our situation clearly made responsible for the acts of between two and three thousand individuals who are daily coming in contact with the lowest of the Chinese, and exposed to assaults so wanton, and often so barbarous, as well as to robberies so extensive, that self-defence imposes upon them the necessity

* Vide note, page 176.

A.D. 1823. of attacking their assailants in a manner from whence death must often ensue. A great and important commerce is instantly suspended, whole fleets at times detained, ourselves liable to seizure, and to be the medium of surrendering a man to death whose crime is only self-defence or obedience to orders, or else to lend ourselves to the most detestable falsehoods, in order to support a fabricated statement which may save the credit of the officers of the Chinese government.

"Can the Honourable Company wish their servants and their trade to remain in this degraded, this dangerous situation? Will the British government expect that the captain of his Majesty's ship is upon this occasion to sacrifice every feeling of honour and humanity?

"The captain of his Majesty's ship has in the most decided terms stated, that he never will surrender any of his people to the justice of the Chinese; and as there is no precedent on record of an honourable adjustment of a case of homicide, we have no ground upon which to remonstrate with his Majesty's officers upon the present occasion.

"We shall briefly recapitulate the cases of homicide noted in our records.

"In 1780, a French sailor who killed a Portuguese in self-defence was strangled without any form of trial.

"In 1784, the gunner who, in obedience to

orders, fired a gun on the occasion of a ship saluting, was put to death. The surrender of this man is considered to have inflicted indelible disgrace upon all parties concerned. A.D. 1823.

"In 1800, the centinel on the forecastle of his Majesty's schooner Providence was charged with the intended murder of a Chinese, whom in obedience to orders he fired at whilst attempting to cut the schooner's cable. The most serious negociations ensued, which were terminated by the wounded man surviving for a period of more than forty days, although he died shortly afterwards.

"In 1806, Edward Sheen, against whom not the shadow of proof existed, was saved by the Chinese officers inventing a most flagrant falsehood as to the manner in which the deceased person came by his death. The form of public trial was however gone through, and it must not be forgotten that a most treacherous attempt was made to seize Sheen's person, in violation of the most positive stipulations in writing to the contrary.

"In 1810, an accusation was brought against the English for the murder of a Chinese in the street adjoining our factory. Chinese witnesses attempted to prove the identity of the men and failed. The form of trial was gone through. A written assurance was given, that if the men could be found they should be punished; which assurances caused a renewal of the discussions at the

A D. 1825. close of the year 1811. In both the foregoing instances whole fleets were detained when on the point of sailing.

"In 1820, the fifth mate of the Winchelsea having absconded, the charge was got rid of by a most unworthy subterfuge, to which, for the sake of the trade, we were induced to lend ourselves. The Chinese laws will not admit the possibility of a magistrate suffering a criminal to escape; and hence, if the identical culprit is not forthcoming, the danger that results to those whom the Chinese, in order to screen themselves, hold as responsible.

"In 1821, an unfortunate occurrence from which the death of a woman was likely to have ensued, in which the ship Lady Melville was implicated, was settled, as innumerable others have been, by pecuniary inducements to the relations of the deceased not to lodge complaints with the officers of government."

"A few months ago Terranovia, a Sicilian belonging to an American ship, charged with throwing a jar at a woman, which is said to have struck her on the head and to have caused her to fall overboard from her boat, was strangled. He was first examined on board ship, not allowed to call any witnesses, again tried at a commercial hall in the suburbs of Canton, the doors being closed, and not a foreigner of any country allowed to enter. His execution took place within forty-eight hours. It

was conducted with illegal secrecy. The report to the Emperor falsified the material facts both of proof and mode of conducting the trial. A.D. 1823.

"The frequent recurrence of our present difficulties must be expected, until some change takes place in the footing upon which our intercourse with the Chinese is carried on. The contempt of foreigners, engendered and fostered by the abusive terms in which they are spoken of by the officers of government, the want of police regulation, and the defenceless state in which we are placed by the difficulty of access to the magistrates, leaves us exposed to assaults of all descriptions, and if self-defence is not received as a plea in cases of homicide, no individual can for one instant be considered safe.

"Whatever may be the distinctions in the Chinese written laws, we see that in the practice, as far as respects Europeans, no discrimination is shewn, and on the present occasion we see that the plea of self-defence is decidedly rejected.

"The great facility which foreigners have of escaping in ships, and the liability of the whole trade to suspension therefrom, is a consideration of such momentous weight, that we trust that the Honourable Court will use every effort, by negotiation with the Chinese and by laws enacted at home, to put the cases of homicide on such a footing as shall prevent embarrassment to the trade."

Captain Richardson requested the Select Com-

A.D. 1823. mittee to convey another letter from him to the viceroy, if another opportunity offered, through the merchants. To this the Committee assented. The letter was, however, returned by the viceroy unopened. It appears that the Committee had permitted the letter to be opened in their presence by the merchants, who had represented that it must be translated. Dr. Morrison being requested to translate it into Chinese, declined, upon the ground that the letter itself contained expressions calculated to exasperate the Chinese authorities, and that if the Committee once became parties to it they would abandon the ground they originally took, of refraining from all interference in matters relating to ships of war.

These arguments appeared conclusive to the Committee, who admitted that they were off their guard, when they allowed the seal to be broken, more especially as Piqua had, previously to his breaking the seal, privately intimated to the president (he omitting to state it to the other members of the Committee) the viceroy's refusal to receive any communication from Captain Richardson except through the Committee and the merchants.

In consequence of the edicts holding the Select Committee responsible for the delivering up of the murderers, they resolved, on the 10th January, to embark on board the Company's ships for Whampoa, and ultimately to proceed with the

ships out of the Canton river. At the same time they addressed a letter to the viceroy, adverting to the trade having been stopped sixteen days; stating, that they had no control over his Majesty's ships, but as they are held responsible they have accordingly determined to quit China. A.D. 1823.

The viceroy, in reply to the commander's application to ship goods, stated that he would not permit them to ship so much as "a thread of silk or the down of a plant" until the foreign murderers were delivered up by the chief.

The ships dropped down to the second bar, and the Committee suggested to Captain Richardson the expediency of his proceeding to Chunpee. On the same day the merchants came to the Committee at Whampoa, and stated that the frigate having departed, the viceroy seemed to believe their assertion, that they had no control over a ship of war. An edict was issued on the 13th removing the threat of personal responsibility, but holding it over the Company's trade, in the event of the foreign murderers' not being given up for judgment.

This was declined by the Committee, under a conviction that the discussions would be renewed immediately on their reaching Canton; and they addressed the viceroy with reference to the edict, and pointed out the difference between the act of wilfully killing a man, and that of death being occasioned by an individual in defence of his own

A.D. 1823. life, when first attacked, as was the case in the affair at Lintin; and as the trade was rendered still liable, they solicited permission for their ships to pass the Bogue.

Upon this representation another edict was issued, in which the viceroy's permission for the re-opening of the trade was again adverted to, but at the same time the necessity that a life should be forfeited, or paid as the penalty, was pointed out. The viceroy added, "if the Committee voluntarily renounce their commerce, he would not by force detain them, but stated that it was perfectly optional for them to go out of the Bogue, and that he had given orders that they should not be fired upon."

The Committee informed the merchants, that they saw no alternative, but that of retiring altogether from China. They sent at the same time a copy of the edict to Captain Richardson, and acquainted him that if he had any further communication to make, it should be forwarded to the Chinese authorities, suggesting at the same time, at the instance of the merchants, a memorandum of what they conceived might satisfy the Chinese, *viz.*

"That the affair at Lintin was indeed one of importance, and in deciding on it I cannot be master; but on my return to my own country, it will be reported to my sovereign, that it (or the parties concerned) may be prosecuted according to

law, or (more strictly rendered) that according to the laws* of the land, it may be investigated and managed."† A.D. 1823.

To this Captain Richardson assented.

The merchants requested that the words, " we will trouble you to take this and communicate on it the ideas in a statement to the viceroy," should be added in the communication from the Select Committee to them. The president coincided in the proposition; but Mr. Molony and Sir William Fraser dissented, because they considered it would at once mix them up in the affair, which they had hitherto studiously avoided.

The merchants represented the impossibility of presenting a letter but from the Select Committee. Mr. Urmston urged the expediency of the Committee addressing the viceroy, and after some discussion Mr. Molony and Sir William Fraser consented to that course, and an address was accordingly prepared in the following terms:

" Although this affair ought not to pass through the chief and Committee, we have obeyed your commands, and have asked the naval captain how those men-of-wars' men who at Lintin caused the death of persons will be treated.

" The captain said, that the affair at Lintin was,

* Vide Penal Code of China, p. 521, by Sir George Staunton.

† " Any court of inquiry directed by the British government would come up fully to the spirit of this promise."—*Committee.*

A.D. 1829. indeed, one of importance; and 'in deciding on it I cannot be master, but on my return to my own country it will be reported to my sovereign, that it (or the parties concerned) may be prosecuted according to law.'"

An edict followed from the viceroy, stating that "the naval officer ought not to make pretexts of returning home: that the chief might return to the factory; but that he must, at the same time, command the naval captain to give up the murderers."

The Committee determined to move the ships to Chunpee, and ordered the commander of the Repulse, should the forts fire on his ship, to repel force by force. It appeared to the Committee and to Captain Richardson, that there was no alternative but to quit China and leave the affair to be settled by the British nation.

The merchants suggested that it should be stated that two men had absconded from the Topaze. This proposal was instantly rejected. The merchants then stated, that it was reported at Canton, that sailors had landed a second day at Lintin, and if that was disproved it might effect a settlement. Upon this a representation was made by Captain Richardson to the viceroy of the facts, shewing that the affair occurred in one day.

On the 1st February a Chinese officer was deputed by the governor to proceed to the ships to inquire into the affair.

The opinion of the president, Mr. Urmston, as to the expediency of quitting China, having undergone some change, and that gentleman considering it right to attempt, if possible by negotiation, a settlement of the affair, expressed his desire to refrain from removing the ships from the river; upon which Mr. Molony and Sir William Fraser recorded a minute, urging the vital importance, in all negotiations with the Chinese, never to pledge themselves to the adoption of any measure which they were not fully prepared eventually to execute, and never to proceed to such an extreme as withdrawing the factory from Canton, the ships from the river, and announcing their intention of returning to their own country to report the injustice under which they suffered, without being fully prepared to do so. A.D. 1823.

The president, in reply, stated his sentiments in the following terms, *viz.*

"After a most deliberate re-consideration of the important question of withdrawing the ships from China, I feel convinced in my own mind that we should not be justified in resorting to that measure, unless absolutely driven to do so by positive acts of hostility on the part of the Chinese government, by their refusing us a residence at Macao (if that plan were adopted), or of their cutting off entirely all supplies from the ships, at whatever anchorage we might resolve on taking, when all negociation on the present dif-

A.D. 1823. ferences terminated. In such case, then, we might be justified in quitting the coast of China.

"I feel satisfied in my own mind, that under all the circumstances of our situation in this country, and of the trade between England and China, the extreme measure of entirely quitting China would not be expected or sanctioned, either by the Court of Directors or the British government."

On the 3d February Captain Richardson reported to the Select Committee that a mandarin from the viceroy had visited the Topaze at Chunpee, and having received from the first lieutenant a full statement of all the circumstances connected with the Lintin affair, expressed himself perfectly satisfied, and stated that he should report the same to the viceroy. On the 6th February, Captain Richardson not having received any communication from the viceroy on the subject of the visit of the mandarin, expressed to the Committee his intention to put to sea on the 8th. Mr. Molony and Sir William Fraser recorded their sentiments as adverse to the Topaze quitting China during the night. The president and Mr. Robarts thought it would rather facilitate than impede, as her departure on her own responsibility would be an additional proof that the Committee had no power over ships of war. The Topaze sailed on the 8th: the same was announced to the merchants by the Committee. The Hong merchants arrived at

Chunpee on the 13th, and submitted a paper containing the proposed substance of a report from them to the viceroy. The Committee declined to receive it, but stated that if the viceroy would consent to separate the king's from the Company's ships, they would return to Canton. A.D. 1823.

It was ultimately arranged, that the Committee should address the viceroy, acquainting him that the whole of the affair would be reported by Captain Richardson to his sovereign, and that copies of all the papers would be sent to the Court of Directors.

On the 22d an edict was issued by the viceroy, adverting to the departure of the frigate, to the impossibility of the chief surrendering the murderers, and to the intention of sending the whole account home, and therefore permitting the trade to be resumed.

On the 24th the factory left Chunpee, and arrived at Canton on the 25th.

On the 27th an edict of considerable length was issued by the Canton government, containing an epitome of the whole affair at Lintin, which document the Committee stated to be full of gross misrepresentations, affording a striking instance of the imposition practised by local authorities on the Emperor and his ministers.

The whole of the circumstances reached the Court in June: a communication thereof was immediately made to the Earl of Liverpool and

A.D. 1823. to Lord Melville, then at the head of the Admiralty, and an order was obtained from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to the Naval Commander-in-chief in India, that in future during peace none of his Majesty's vessels of war should visit any port of China, unless on a requisition from the Governor-General of India or from the Select Committee of supracargoes at Canton.

The Court in a letter to Canton, conveying copies of the correspondence with the Admiralty, stated, "we have enjoined the Bengal government carefully to abstain from requiring any ship in his Majesty's service to proceed to China unless in case of indispensable necessity. We also particularly enjoin you, that nothing but an occurrence of vital importance and of the most urgent necessity induce you to forward any requisition to the government of Bengal, or to the naval Commander-in-chief in India, for the dispatch of any of his Majesty's ships to China during a period of peace.

"We trust that, at least during peace, no future opportunity will be given for contests with the Chinese on the part of the crews of his Majesty's ships, and we most particularly enjoin you to continue to use every precaution in your power to prevent such contests on the part of the crews employed to navigate the ships in our service, and in that of the private British trade between India and China.

"As the indiscreet use of fire-arms by the officers of our ships has in a recent instance occasioned the death of a Chinese, an event on all accounts to be deplored, we shall therefore give the most express orders to the commanders of our ships, that the fire-arms be placed in the utmost security, so that no persons have access thereto, but with the special permission of the commanding officer of the ship. A.D. 1823.

"We learn from your statement, that you determined upon leaving the factory, and embarking on board the shipping in the river, in consequence of the viceroy persisting in his declared intention of holding you individually responsible for the surrender of the seamen of his Majesty's ship Topaze, to whom the death of the Chinese at Lintin was imputed, and because you felt yourselves insecure in the factory under such circumstances. On your quitting Canton, a communication for the viceroy was left with the Hong merchants."

The Court considered that the Select Committee had acted prematurely in deciding to quit China, and observed, "Your departure might have closed our relation with China, while it opened the door for competitors, and your return to Canton, if permitted, would probably have been accompanied by the most humiliating conditions.

"At the same time that we state this opinion, we are far from intending to withhold from you

A.D. 1823. the meed of praise and high commendation due to you for the firm and judicious, yet temperate stand you made against the attempt by the Chinese authorities to implicate you, and the interests confided to you, in the transactions of a King's ship. This resistance, and the success which has attended it, by inducing the viceroy to state in the edict issued on the 20th February, "that the chief at this time indeed appears not to have any means of ordering the delivering up of the persons implicated," have established the distinct character of the respective authorities, and the recognition thereof on the part of the Chinese, which in our opinion is of great importance, and cannot fail of producing beneficial effects to our interests."

A.D. 1824. In the month of March the Select Committee were informed that the viceroy had inquired whether the foreign murderers had been brought out, and represented that the people at Lintin had petitioned the Emperor at Pekin to procure a satisfactory adjustment. The Committee stated to the merchants, that the expectation of the viceroy could not be realized. The viceroy, it was reported, was willing to concur in any scheme which might lead to an adjustment of the affair.

The Committee addressed the viceroy, representing that they had sent home a full statement of the affair, which had been received by his Majesty's Ministers and the Court of Directors, and that Captain Richardson had been left

sick at the Cape of Good Hope; and added, that they could not be answerable for ships of war. A.D. 1824.

The Hong merchants stated, on the 24th August, that the viceroy would not receive their address, as it had not been perused by them and received their approbation. To this the Committee replied, that permission was given in 1814 to present addresses to the Canton government without the interference of the Hong merchants, and declared that they could not present any other letter.

The Committee determined, on the 7th September, that the ships should not enter the Bogue until further orders.

On the 23d an edict of the Hoppo commanded the commerce to be carried on as usual: the ships accordingly entered the river.

On the 6th October, the Committee having arrived at Canton, found that the trade had resumed its usual course.

In November 1823, an imperial edict was issued, directing the chief to write to his Company, desiring them on the return of the cruizer to examine and execute the criminal.

Various instances had occurred in the preceding year of disputes with the lower order of Chinese and with the crews of American vessels. They had afforded occasion on the part of the Chinese for the exaction of pecuniary compensation on the plea of being wounded, with which

A.D. 1824. the Americans and others had complied, rather than have embarrassments thrown in the way of their trade. An occurrence, in which an officer of the Company's ship Earl of Balcarras was concerned had taken place. A native covered boat had been paddled alongside, and having been repeatedly warned to leave her, but not doing so, a midshipman threw a small piece of wood on the covering. The parties in the boat immediately placed a dying man in the compradore's boat that was astern of the ship, alleging that he had been killed by the piece of wood: 3,000 dollars were demanded as a compensation for the man's life; this sum was ultimately reduced to 300. The surgeon stated the man to have been in a diseased state, and it was proved that the wood had not hit him. Captain Cameron, of the Earl of Balcarras, gave the parties in custody and communicated the particulars to the Select Committee, who made the same known to the viceroy, in consequence of which a Chinese was taken up to Canton, that an inquiry might be made according to Chinese custom. There did not appear to be any defined law applying to the particular case, and as the viceroy was from Canton, judgment was deferred till his return; but the Foo-yuen declared that the parties, if guilty, should be severely punished.

This, and other occasions, shew that the Chinese have no desire to skreen their countrymen from

punishment when guilty, but that the inquiry must be carried on according to their own forms and usages. These circumstances evince the continued interruptions which the intercourse is liable to from the indiscretion and quarrels of the sailors with the lower class of natives. A.D. 1824.

The Court, in a letter to the supracargoes in April, expressed their hope that some alteration might be obtained in the Emperor's edict of 1817, prohibiting the coasting trade with Fu-keen, by which the low-priced teas could be imported by sea into Canton at a reduced rate.

The Court advised the Committee, that the whole of the additional circumstances having been laid before his Majesty's ministers on the affair of the Topaze, they had deemed it expedient that, as Captain Richardson had not returned to England, the first lieutenant, William Price Hamilton, should be tried by a court-martial regarding the affray at Lintin, as he was then the officer commanding; that such trial had taken place; that Lieutenant Hamilton had been honourably acquitted; and that a letter had by the King's command been written by Mr. Wynn, the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, to the viceroy, expressive of his Majesty's concern at the unfortunate occurrence.

The Select Committee were to exercise their own discretion as to presenting the letter or with-

A.D. 1824. holding it, as circumstances at the time might render most expedient.

Tea trade with British America.

On the 30th July the Court advised the Select Committee of the act which had been passed, authorising a trade direct from China to the British Colonies and plantations in America, and sent out instructions as to the sorts and qualities of tea to be provided.

A.D. 1826.

The Committee in their letter of the 9th March, alluded to an attack made on a member of the factory and a Captain of the Bengal establishment, by a Chinese tradesman, in the streets of Macao, and stated that the most prompt and efficient measures were taken by the Chinese for the apprehension and punishment of the offenders.

A.D. 1827.

The viceroy, in an edict issued against foreigners addressing representations in the Chinese character, in consequence of the Americans having presented a letter in Chinese at the city gates, declared "Foreign merchants coming to Canton to trade, used the foreign character in their addresses from the commencement, but the English nation it was some time back settled, as a custom, should make use of the Chinese character through their chief. With this exception, all nations must, as before, make use of the foreign character, and apply to the Hong merchants to present the same with a translation."

The hoppo in his proclamation observed, "that

remissness has occurred of late years in respect to foreigners remaining at Canton after the business of the season is over, with the exception of the English chief, who indeed understands the general principles of moral fitness, and the foreigners of that nation (those in the Company's employ), who preserve a due regard for themselves." A.D. 1827.

The Court noticed the circumstance of a Portuguese black slave having been executed by the Portuguese for the murder of a Chinese, as proving that the Portuguese had established the right of executing their own laws, although no recognition appeared of it in the edict of the viceroy. Portuguese executed.

The Chinese populace were not satisfied with only one man suffering, and attacked the property of the Portuguese, and of several other persons in Macao, but respected that of the English.

The local authorities instituted the most rigid inquiries into the conduct of the rioters, and determined to punish with the utmost severity those who should be found guilty.

Captain Walker, of the Company's ship Macqueen, having received a severe contusion on the head, in an unprovoked attack by two low Chinese in the streets of Canton, the Select Committee addressed the viceroy on the subject, and represented the fact of several spirit shops in the neighbourhood of the factories having become a

A D. 1827. very serious evil. The application was successful; the two Chinese being very severely punished, and the spirit shops shut up by order of the government.

With the exception of the case of Captain Walker, the trade had been conducted with uninterrupted quiet, although so many as thirty-one ships had been consigned to the Select Committee in the season 1826-27.

A.D. 1827. The Lintin affair of 1823 was re-opened by the new viceroy, on representations from the friends of the parties, who had issued a proclamation, in which he directed "the subject to be fully investigated, and the point ascertained at what time the cruizer with the foreign murderers returned home, and at what time they were by the home authorities executed."

The supracargoes declined giving an official answer to that proclamation, and on being much pressed on the point by the Hong merchants, they informed them that they had a letter on the subject from Mr. Wynn, addressed to the viceroy at Canton; and that should the discussion be re-opened the letter must be presented. The merchants thereupon expressed the strongest alarm, and intreated that such an intention should not for a moment be entertained. They then offered several propositions for enabling them to make a favourable report to the government, but the supracargoes refused to countenance any assertion

inconsistent with their knowledge of the facts of the case. The merchants expressed their intention of using every means in their power to prevent any further agitation of the question. A.D. 1828.

The Committee adhering steadily and firmly to their declaration of countenancing no statement that was contrary to their knowledge of the facts, the merchants were induced so to represent the affair to the viceroy as to cause him to decline further interference. A.D. 1829. Hong Merchants.

The Court entered at considerable length into the commercial transactions conducted between the Committee and the Hong merchants. They reviewed the statements of the supposed profits of the latter, and the extortions to which they were subjected by the Chinese government, and concurred with the Committee in the doubt which they had expressed, as to obtaining respectable men to join that body while liable to such heavy demands, and directed that the Committee "should lose no time in calling the attention of the remaining members of the Hong to the necessity of an application to the Chinese authorities for an immediate addition of three or more responsible and efficient merchants, so that the Hong may be again increased to at least ten or twelve members of character and property." The requisition of the Hong merchants was to be enforced by a memorial from the Committee on the ground of the necessity of the case, and that every proper and

A.D. 1829. consistent method should be adopted to accomplish, with as little delay as possible, the very important measure of restoring the Hong to the same number of merchants which formerly constituted that body.

Females at Canton. In the year 1825 a female European had been carried from a ship wrecked off the coast of China and sent up to Canton, whence she was obliged to return to Macao. It was inferred from the circumstances attending the affair, that the difficulties which had been opposed to European females visiting Canton originated with the Hong merchants. The Select Committee observed in November 1827, that in China law is the enactment of the officer at the head of the provincial government, and no regulations relative to Europeans emanate from any other source. At the same time they admitted their inability to give a decisive opinion whether European females would be admitted by the Chinese authorities to remain at Canton; but they added, should English females at a future period wish to visit Canton, they would with the Court's sanction try the experiment.

To this the Court, on the 3d April 1829, distinctly replied, "We cannot give our sanction to any such experiment."

In compliance with the request of the supracargoes (in consequence of a visit from a Tartar general and other officers of rank to the factory), that a portrait of the King might be sent out, the

Court intimated that Sir Thomas Lawrence had one in preparation for which his Majesty had been pleased to sit. A.D. 1829.

The attention of the Select Committee had been called to a representation from the numerous natives at Bombay, pointing out the losses they had suffered from the failure of some of the Hong merchants, and the falling off in the demand for cotton goods as well as the raw material.

An edict had been sent down by the Emperor for making additional Hong merchants, but the extortions to which they were subjected induced parties to hesitate joining that body. With regard to the falling off in the demand for the raw material, there appeared to be two years' consumption on the merchants' hands at Canton, and that the importation of manufactured cotton goods and cotton yarn from England had most materially affected the Indian markets. Failure of Hong Merchants.

In order to induce the Chinese government to add to the number of the Hong and to reduce the duties upon the general trade, the Select Committee authorized the fleet to be detained outside the Bogue, in the hope that such measure would produce the desired effect.

The subject not only of this petition, but that of the general trade at Canton, engaged the attention of the Select Committee, who on the 28th July determined to order the expected fleet from England to remain outside the river, as it had

A.D. 1829. become not only highly proper, but absolutely necessary, to attract the attention of the higher officers of government to the state of the foreign trade and the many grievances under which it laboured, in the hope that some material improvement might result from such examination.

It appeared from the Pekin Gazette that the viceroy had already represented to the Emperor the difficulty in making Hong merchants, in consequence of the arbitrary demands pressed upon them beyond the usual duties.

The president concurred in keeping the ships outside the river on account of the health of the crews, but not as a preliminary to negotiations with the Chinese government, and considered that the viceroy ought to be apprized of it, to which the majority of the Committee objected.

On the 28th August the president recorded his opinion, that the ships should no longer be kept out of the river; that the markets at Canton had improved, and that a firm and temperate statement to the viceroy of the object the Select Committee had in view would be the best course of proceeding.

The three other members of the Select Committee differed with the president, and considered that the ships should be still kept outside, and that, as a preliminary to other points, the two to be first mentioned should be Chunqua's hong (who had failed), and an increase of merchants.

The viceroy, on receiving the Committee's statement, demanded the name of the party who had deserted Chunqua's hong: the majority of the Committee thought it a fit opportunity to make a full representation of the mercantile state of affairs, and that it required them to set aside all apprehension of giving offence, that the truth should be plainly told, in whatever light the government might think proper to receive such intimation, and refer, as a source of infinite satisfaction, to the Court's letter of the 3d April 1829,* as supporting the measures contemplated. A.D. 1829.

The Committee then advert to the falling off in the exports from Bengal and Bombay, owing to the exactions of the Chinese; and although they admitted that their exertions ought to be mainly directed to support that branch of the trade immediately under their superintendence, so important an interest as that of the merchants of British India must not be overlooked.

On the 8th September the Committee addressed the viceroy, and pointed out,

1st. The necessity of increasing the number of responsible merchants.

2d. Of reducing the enter-port fee of 2,780 dollars, which added to the measurement charge rendered it impossible for a small ship to go to Whampoa without almost certain loss.

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* Vide p. 315.

A.D. 1829. 3d. The narrow views, overbearing rule, and the avarice of public officers, to which the country trade from Bengal and Bombay is subjected.

The Committee entreated these points might be represented to the Emperor, and that his Imperial Majesty would appoint substantial merchants, and prohibit the clandestine fee exacted on entering the port.

At this time the British merchants resident at Canton, and agents to the native merchants in Bengal and at Bombay engaged in the China trade, addressed the Committee in behalf of those parties, and expressed their readiness to aid the Committee in their endeavours to obtain some amelioration of their condition, especially as to the Co-hong, the more wealthy individuals of which had availed themselves (the agents stated) of withdrawing from the India import trade, and confined themselves chiefly to the providing export cargoes of teas; and that, under these circumstances, with what justice could their dealings be restricted to its members, if they were at liberty to withdraw from an extensive branch of the commerce of the port? They then alluded to the depreciation of cotton, to the Consoo fund, and to the cumshaw or present of 1,950 tales on each ship.

The Committee remarked: "It is no easy task to prescribe a remedy for the present evils. The Chinese are so bigotted to old usages, that much

difficulty must be anticipated in overcoming their prejudices against innovation, and prevailing upon them to adopt a new system; but under existing circumstances the attempt must be made, and it will be our endeavour to propose the changes required, in the form which is likely to prove most agreeable to them." A.D. 1829.

An edict of the viceroy, dated the 12th November, stated:— Edict as to trade.

Substantial merchants were not to retire.

New Hongs were to be created.

No debts to be incurred with Hong merchants, nor money lent by foreign merchants to them.

Old debts to be paid off in a certain number of years, as heretofore, and not by per-centage.

Duties to be paid within twenty days.

Renting warehouses not consistent with regulations.

Security merchants for ships must be continued, and compradores appointed to ships, otherwise continual quarrelling as to price, &c. A list of prices to be affixed against the Consoo-house.

Measurement of ships divided into three classes, and duty must be levied according to size.

Enter-port fee the same on all: a fixed regulation and cannot be diminished, but the Emperor's orders will be taken upon it.

The majority of the Select Committee, on the 16th November, remonstrated in very strong

A.D. 1829. terms against this edict, and stated, " we are the subjects of a King as powerful as the Emperor of China, of a King who has vast fleets and armies at his disposal, of a King who loves peace and wishes to be, as heretofore, in amity with the august Emperor of China, but who, nevertheless, would not see his subjects wronged without seeking to gain redress."

On the 27th November the viceroy issued an edict, stating, " that he had gone into the minutest points of the regulation, which must be observed; and to sum all up, as to commerce, let the said nation do as it pleases. As to regulations, those that the Celestial Empire fixes must be obeyed. There is no use in vain multiplication of discussion and disputation."

On the 21st December the Select Committee wrote to the Bengal government, advising them of the state of affairs, and of their determination to persevere in such representations to the Chinese government at Canton, as should effect an improvement in the state of the foreign commerce.

A.D. 1830. On the 4th January the copy of part of a Memorial from Governor Le to the Emperor, bearing date the 28th November, on the subject of the foreign trade with Canton, was sent to the president. It pointed out the several requests urged by the Committee; it stated the old regulations and the necessity of observing them,

and added, the contemptuous resistance of the foreigners "arises from no other than a special design to coerce us by the circumstances of their paying much duty; I have been careful not to shew haste and violence, so as to provoke a rupture, and at the same time was determined not to stoop to foreign feeling and lose great respectability." A.D. 1830.

On the 6th January the new Hoppo issued an edict in reply to an address from the Select Committee congratulating him on accession to office, and pointing out grievances.

The majority of the Committee differing from the president, who proposed that trade should be resumed, recorded a Minute on the 11th January, in which they fully stated the views by which they had been actuated, and in opposition to the arguments put forth, that the Americans and others carried on their trade lucratively and without interruption, asserted that such arguments fell to the ground, when it was considered what would have been their situation but for the struggles the Company had always made against the monopoly of the Co-hong system. They added, that so long as the influence of the Company maintained itself in China, so long must other nations reap the advantages of the Company's success. When that should be lost, it required little penetration to discover how very different the state of commerce would be with Canton. After dwelling upon other matters arising out of the then state

A.D. 1830. of affairs, they resolved, in order to convince the Chinese of the firmness of their purpose, to direct the ships to proceed to Manilla, a place whence they could at all times be easily recalled, and where they would find a secure harbour and abundant supplies for the maintenance of the crews. One ship was to be retained for the protection of the factory, and the rest of the ships, with one supracargo, were to proceed to Manilla, determining previous to departure to address the Emperor. Having resolved upon the course to be pursued with reference to the Company's commerce, they adverted to the other branches of British commerce with China, and resolved to put a stop to all commercial intercourse in country ships. They also expressed their sentiments as adverse, from experience, to the exclusion of ships of war from China, and stated that representations would invariably have more weight if aided and supported by the presence of one or two of his Majesty's ships.

The Select Committee, on the 11th January, addressed a further letter to the Supreme Government in Bengal, detailing the continued unfavourable aspect of affairs as regarded the Company's interests, and suggesting that communications should be made from the Governor General to the Emperor of China, one through Nepaul, and the other by the Yellow Sea, representing the grievances under which the Company's trade laboured,

and pointing out the ameliorations which they considered should be demanded, as within the bounds of reason and moderation. They also intimated their determination to interdict all trade and intercourse with Canton, and solicited the aid of some of his Majesty's ships as essential in enforcing the suspension of commerce. A.D. 1830.

A copy of the Committee's address to the Emperor of China was also forwarded to Bengal, in which the several points complained of were set forth, and the conduct of the viceroy described as oppressive and unjust; it was concluded in the following terms:

"To you we look with confidence that an appeal will not be made in vain. We trust that the valuable and extensive trade which has for so many years flourished, to the mutual benefit of two rich and powerful countries, will not be sacrificed to the temporary enrichment of a few government officers, but that it will be raised again to a firm and healthy state, and remain a lasting evidence of the justice and sound policy and the paternal regard of the august and renowned monarch under whose dominion it is our good fortune to be placed. With the highest veneration and respect, we lay this petition before your Imperial Majesty."

A member of the Company's factory proceeded on the 16th January to Toon-Koo, with a letter from the Select Committee for the Emperor of

A.D. 1830. China. On the 21st he reported the result of his mission, having, with the aid of some of the officers of the Company's ships, reached the city gates, and delivered the address to the local authorities.

On the 25th January the viceroy issued another edict, in which the several points in dispute were fully considered; and it was observed, that "if the said nation desires to restore the commerce, the province of Canton has by no means done any thing to hinder it;" and with reference to the advantages stated to be derived to China from the duties paid by the Company's ships, it was remarked that "the Celestial Empire views them as really not of the importance of a fibre or particle of dust."

The memorial to the Emperor delivered at the gates was returned to the Committee.

The president, finding himself opposed so decidedly by the majority of the Committee, resolved upon quitting China.

The Committee received on the 5th February an edict issued by the viceroy on the 2d, having reference to the Committee's last address, stating that an additional Hong merchant had been made, that debts would be satified or the parties punished, and that the enter-port fee was under the Emperor's consideration.

The Committee considered the whole tenor of the edict as conciliatory; they replied to the

viceroy on the 8th, stating that the ships had been ordered up to Whampoa. A.D. 1830.

On the 2d March the Committee advise the Court of the establishment of three new Hongs, and remarked that, as the faith of government had been kept upon one point, they were encouraged to hope that it would be maintained in others.

In the same letter the Committee acquainted the Court that Mrs. Baynes had accompanied the president to Canton.

The Committee, on the 20th March, expressed to the Court their opinion as to the necessity of their being vested with sufficient power to control the private British merchant ships, in consequence of the difficulty they experienced during the progress of the late discussion, and the reasons which induced them to recommend the appointment of a master attendant to be attached to the factory in China, who should have a complete control over the Company's ships.

Minute of Governor-General.

The Select Committee's letter of the 11th January to the Bengal government for aid in support of their views having been received by the Governor General, his Lordship recorded a Minute on the 3d April, in which, after enumerating the several points urged by the Committee, he remarked "that a compliance with their requisition would not only involve an interference in a matter entirely separate from the authority of the

A.D. 1830. Indian government, but also a responsibility which nothing but the clearest conviction of the necessity could authorize. Without a thorough knowledge of the affairs under discussion, it would be impossible for a government, entire strangers to the affairs of China, to pledge their character and consideration by a remonstrance, without a complete developement of the data upon which the calculation of failure or success must have been founded." His Lordship also remarked on the fact of the president differing from the other members of the Select Committee, a circumstance entirely unnoticed in the letter to the Supreme Government of the 11th January.

"What reason (asked his Lordship) is there to suppose that the representations of the Supreme Government will have more effect than those of the Select Committee? On what grounds is it now concluded that the cautious policy of not admitting ships of war, and of excluding all possible chance of collision or cause of offence, hitherto so successfully pursued, and in a very recent instance strongly recommended by a preceding Select Committee, is erroneous and unnecessary; and above all, what is the foundation of the security, that this bolder measure of intimidation, by a remonstrance from the supreme power of India, backed by a naval force of his Majesty, will ensure success? and in the event of failure, it would have been satisfactory to have

been informed in what manner a safe and honourable retreat might be effected." A.D. 1830.

His Lordship, adverting to the more moderate policy marked out by Mr. Plowden, which appeared to have been the most reasonable course, observed: "I do not pretend to adjudge the conduct of the Select Committee, but at the same time it is difficult to understand what objection there could have been, before proceeding to extremities which might place the best interests of the Company and the state in jeopardy, to have awaited a reference to the home authorities. We, at any rate, uninformed as we are, could not lend ourselves, without the sanction of our superior authorities, to so radical a change of the peaceful policy hitherto invariably and successfully followed, which has carefully abstained from all display of power, and thus strictly adhered to the maintenance of the simple character of a commercial factory."

Sir Charles Metcalfe had offered his services to proceed to Canton, which were accepted, and instructions from the Governor General in Council were prepared for the purpose. Intelligence having reached Calcutta of the opening of the trade, the mission of Sir Charles did not take place.

Court's opinion.

The Court considered that the whole of the proceedings were so directly at variance with the line of conduct that they had enjoined upon the

A.D. 1830. Company's servants in China, that they evinced such a total want of temper and judgment in the conduct of their affairs, and had involved in such imminent danger the vast interests committed to their charge, that after the most mature and deliberate consideration, the Court came to a unanimous Resolution of appointing a new Committee.

In a despatch of the 23d October from Canton, the Select Committee advised the Court, that on their arrival at the factory, they learned the particulars of the death of Captain Mackenzie, commander of a Dutch ship, in an affray with some Parsees, servants to Nerwanjee, a Parsee merchant, who had attempted to gain by force a passage through the Hong in which they resided, with a M. Bovet. On hearing the noise, Captain Mackenzie came out to render any assistance that might be necessary from the Hong in which they resided, and under a mistaken impression, struck the Parsee with an umbrella. The Parsees cudgelled Captain Mackenzie. The blows inflicted caused his death the following morning. The parties implicated were sent off immediately to Bombay. Shortly after the vessel had left Canton the Chinese applied to have the murderers delivered up; when they were informed that they had sailed for Bombay, where they would be tried.

An unfavorable and malignant temper was re-

presented to have been displayed by the local authorities, in the publication of several insulting and opprobious edicts, promulgated with the evident intention of degrading the character of foreigners amongst the lower orders of the natives, and calculated in a high degree to aggravate the feelings of the former, and excite "the disposition of the latter to offensive acts." Several proclamations had appeared prohibiting the residence of European females at Canton. A.D. 1830.

Threats having been held out of seizing the foreign lady, a guard of seamen was immediately ordered from the ships for the protection of the factory in case of any attack being attempted, and the merchants were informed the same would not be withdrawn till the government gave ample assurance of the personal safety of every British subject resident at Canton.

Expostulation of Committee.

The Committee, on the 18th October, expostulated against the terms of the edict: after alluding to the supracargoes being allowed to have their wives with them at Canton, they stated, "to sum up the whole, if the great officers wish to rule foreigners with justice and benevolence, affairs may go on with tranquillity, but if they wish to insult, tyrannize over, and govern foreign merchants vexatiously, we really do not know where the business will end. The most patient natures may be driven to extremes. What necessity, in the midst of a vacuum and on level ground, to

A. D. 1830. create a commotion, and provoke a revolution?"

Edict of Viceroy.

An edict of the 22d October referred to the Committee's address of the 18th, and stated: "since the said foreigners come to trade, it is only incumbent on them to obey implicity the orders of government. If they dislike the restrictions as difficult to be endured, it is perfectly competent to them not to take the trouble to come so great a distance."

"As to what the petition says about foreign women residing at the factory, heretofore, when foreign women came to Canton province, they were originally allowed to reside temporarily at Macao. If they were brought to Canton city, it was for a long time past an offence against the statutes of the local government. In the sixteenth and thirty-fourth years of Kien Lung (A. D. 1751 and 1769), there were cases in the courts of foreign women and slave women being brought up clandestinely to Canton, all of whom were by the then governors sent back in custody to Macao. There are papers which may be examined."

"The said chief and others, in attending to the commercial affairs, have their fixed residence at Macao: Canton is their temporary residence. Every day (or ordinarily) by requesting a permit they can go up and down, and perfectly attend to their families. What necessity is there for persons with different dress and different language

(from the natives) to excite a commotion in the factories, and by a possibility of one in ten thousand create a bloody quarrel, and make disturbance which would turn the subject into matter of infinite after-regret." A.D. 1830.

After further remonstrances by the Committee, followed by assurances from the merchants that no intention existed of sending down a force to seize the lady, the Committee, on the 30th October, gave orders for removing the sailors and guns.

The Court entirely disapproved of the Committee's proceedings, and adverted to their letter of the 3d April 1829, in which they withheld their sanction to the experiment then proposed of females going to Canton. Court's opinion.

The Committee appointed under the Court's orders of the 26th May 1830, took their seats at Canton on the 29th November following. New Committee.

In a subsequent edict regarding females being at Canton, after alluding to what took place regarding the women in distress in the time of Kien-lung, it was observed:

"If any one brings women to Canton, it is incumbent on you to speak plainly the correct sentiment to reprehend him, and order him to hasten and return them to Macao. Moreover you should previously caution all the people resident at Macao, and tell them they are not allowed to bring their families to Canton. Then you will

A.D. 1830. go in the right way, which is incumbent on those who reside at Canton and have the general control. As to what is said in the petition, that husband and wife should not be separated, this refers to ordinary cases when living at home. If they go abroad, and become guests in a country, how can they be viewed according to the same rule? Besides, at Macao they may be sent to reside: where is the necessity of overstepping the mark, and going to Canton?

"Try to think of all the various nations whose foreign merchants come to Canton. There are a great many who do not bring their wives and daughters; how do they separate?

"That a sudden and wilful violation of interdicts, which ad been long obeyed, was a wild irregular act, I suppose the said chief and his colleagues already know."

A.D. 1831. On the 2d January, the Committee received, in an address from the British residents at Canton, the copy of a petition from those individuals to the House of Commons, the objects of which the Committee were requested to promote. It entreated the interposition of the Legislature for a redress of grievances and oppressions to which they were subjected by the government of China, and prayed for a permanent resident at Pekin.

On the 12th an order was issued by the governor against the residence of females at Canton,

sitting in sedan chairs, and against muskets and sailors being brought up to Canton. A.D. 1831.

Address from Hong as to Company's trade.

On the 19th an address was presented by the Hong merchants to the viceroy which entered fully into the foreign trade. It described the English trade as conducted by a Company under one chief, who had control over English and Indian ships; that the English Company's ships were large ships; that if any change should be made individuals would come of themselves, they would not be subject to one control, and if affairs were not subject to one control, responsibility would cease.

Committee's views.

The viceroy stated, in an edict regarding the intended change, "I hereby issue an order to the said Hong merchants, that they may forthwith enjoin my commands on the said nation's chief early to send a letter home, that if indeed, after the thirteenth year of Taou Kwang the Company be dissolved, it will, as heretofore, be incumbent to deliberate and appoint a chief, who understands the business, to come to Canton for the general management of the commercial dealings, by which means affairs may be prevented from going to confusion, and benefits remain to commerce."

The Committee, at the close of the season, offered some general observations on the state of the factory and its relations towards the local authorities, and remarked "that the existence of a

A.D 1831. powerful and influential body in your representatives in this country has opposed the only check to the evils and embarrassments to which foreign commerce is continually exposed. We believe that no effectual remedy will be found for them until it suit the purposes or policy of Great Britain to assume in its turn the attitude of dictation, which would readily demonstrate the weakness of this government. We do not hesitate to express this opinion, though we wish your Honourable Court to believe that the possession of such an opinion can in no wise alter our resolution to conduct your affairs in this country in a conciliatory and amicable spirit."

The Committee pointed out the great advantages derived from the discipline of the naval part of the Company's service, the commanders and officers always aiding the views of the Committee; and stated, that more embarrassments were frequently experienced from one small chartered ship than from the whole fleet of the regular ships, the seamen of the latter being under such excellent control and discipline.

On noticing the assertions which had been advanced in evidence before the East-India Committee of the House of Commons, of the success which had attended a forced trade on the coast of China, they made every inquiry of the agent, a man of most respectable character, who was mentioned as principally concerned in it. The fol-

lowing was the answer which the Select Committee received in writing, *viz.* "the evidence is a tissue of inaccuracies;" and the same was confirmed by such adventures not having been persevered in. A.D. 1831.

The ship Merope having in the last season proceeded along the coast, the Committee received from the British agent the following reply to their inquiry: "The accompanying letter from Captain Parkyns will give you a better idea than I can of his last unsuccessful expedition to the eastward. He sailed on the 6th July, and returned on the 31st of August, with the loss of all his anchors in a typhoon off Formosa. He had about 450 chests of opium, of which he sold only about 15,000 or 16,000 dollars' worth, for which he received broken dollars. He had no other traffic besides opium, nor have any of the vessels which have gone to the eastward been ever able to deal in any other article, unless occasionally in a little saltpetre; no other vessel went to the eastward last year."

In noticing the American trade, which had been held up in evidence before the Committee of Parliament as a model for English imitation, the Select Committee stated, "since the month of June last, only six American vessels have been at Whampoa, the smallest number of any season within our remembrance." The average size of these vessels was about 400 tons. The importa-

A.D. 1831. tion of bullion, formerly so large a branch of trade here in American bottoms, had been only to the trifling amount of 56,000 dollars.

The Dutch trade with China, from the consul's own statement, had become almost nothing.

The French trade was on too reduced a scale to be regarded as a matter of national commerce.

The Spanish trade was too insignificant to be noticed.

The Committee remarked, that the American commerce will probably again revive, but the depression under which it suffered had been attended with most serious losses to Chinese merchants, who had speculated upon its continuance. As far as a tea investment is concerned, good teas will never be brought from the provinces where they are produced to meet so fluctuating a demand. It has been of late years only the regular demand of the Company which has insured a corresponding regular supply, we mean of teas of a sound and good quality."

Foreign Trade at Canton.

On the 28th January the Committee stated: "The various advices and instructions which we have from time to time received from your Honourable Court in favour of augmenting the imports nto China, and in support of the manufacturing interests of Great Britain, continue to engage our utmost attention. It is a source of much satisfaction to observe, that in all importations of the substantial fabrics, by American and

other vessels, the standard of broad-cloth and of other descriptions of goods adopted by the Honourable Company is that which, with very trifling exceptions, has been followed by private traders, evincing that the assortment of our investments, the result of experience, is that best suited to the habits and wishes of the native population of China, which the competition of the last twelve years has not been able to improve upon. A.D. 1831.

"It is another very satisfactory point to remark, that on inspecting the out-turn of various accounts of British manufactures in private adventures (and we have had access to many of them), the cost and charges on such investments, in almost all cases, exceed those of the property consigned to us by your Honourable Court, and that our sales have been effected on as good, and very frequently on more advantageous terms; in short, that in many transactions whereon a profit has been realized by the Company, private importers have scarcely covered the expense of the consignment, and not unfrequently been subject to a loss.

"We may conclude these observations by stating, that individuals from several very respectable commercial houses have arrived here with investments of British manufactures, buoyed up with hopes of attaining a market imperfectly supplied, and of realizing large profits. Some have now quitted China, acknowledging their erroneous

A.D. 1831. views, founded on the mis-statements of interested or ill-informed persons, and have borne testimony to the judgment and commercial enterprize which the transactions of the Honourable Company in this quarter have exhibited."

The Select Committee, on the 2d April from Macao, apprized the Court that " at day-light on the morning of the 15th ultimo a boat, containing clothes belonging to the crews of several ships, in which were Chinese as well as lascars, was seized by a mandarin boat close to the vessels at anchor at Lintin, with the view of extorting money. The cries of the lascars were heard on board the American ship at Lintin, the commander of which went himself in a boat followed by three others belonging to the English ship Samarang and Algairns, and the Portuguese ship Letitia (the last English property though under Portuguese colours), to rescue the boat which had been seized. On several muskets being fired at her the mandarin vessel relinquished her prize. Not satisfied with this, the firing of musketry was continued, and in this certainly unjustifiable part of the proceeding, the boat from the Samarang is said to have been most conspicuous. The consequence has been, that one Chinese is stated to have been killed and five or six wounded. The mandarin boat is mentioned to have contained thirty or forty men. A representation was made by the mother of the deceased to the Canton

government, asserting that her son had been killed by men belonging to an *English ship.* The proclamations issued by the Hoppo and Kwang-Chow-foo state the act to have been committed by *foreign* ships." A.D. 1831.

The Committee, in reply to the call made upon them to assist in the detection of the foreign murderer, stated that the Company had no ship at Lintin, and that they could not be expected to be answerable for foreign vessels. They expressed their hope to the Court they should have it in their power to give the government of China a clear and distinct assurance, that an English murderer of a Chinese would never be protected from the punishment due to his crime, and that an innocent man would never be surrendered to the vengeance of an indiscriminating law. "It must not be disguised that the English as well as the Chinese part of the system, as it has hitherto existed, cannot fulfil the ends of justice, and can only become the source of mutual recrimination."

The Committee admitted the strong grounds which the government of Canton had for feeling indignant at the late conflict at Lintin, the more especially as it was in the prosecution of a contraband trade, established in defiance of the proclamation of the government. The Committee only abstained from exercising the powers vested in them, and withdrawing the license of those whose boats had been implicated, because the

A.D. 1831. Chinese might have thought it was an acknowledgment on the part of the Committee that it was an English and not a foreign question, and have proceeded with undue severity against the British commerce generally with China.

A country ship having, by way of punishment for theft, left an English sailor on the island of Lintin, the Committee informed the commander that his license was forfeited. Learning, however, that the man had been taken on board, and that the commander, who was likewise the owner, bore an irreproachable character, they consented to restore the license.

The Court were advised that very serious commotions had taken place among the natives in two districts distant about twenty miles from Canton, at the introduction of cotton yarn. They loudly complained that it had deprived of the means of existence their women and children, who had previously been employed in the spinning of thread.

On the 19th May a report was received from Messrs. Daniell and Smith, two members of the factory who had been deputed to Canton to learn the particulars as to the Company's factory there having been violently entered by the local authorities with armed attendants, those gentlemen, detailing the circumstances and corroborating the information which had reached the Committee. They related to unauthorized alterations in the ground in front of the factory.

Howqua informed them that on the morning of the 12th the Foo-yuen proceeded to the factory accompanied by the Hoppo, and quite unexpected by the Hong merchants. While walking in the garden he ordered his attendants to uncover the late King's picture, and seating himself before it he sent for the linguists. Atain, who appeared first, was questioned, how he dared to permit the ground in the front of the Company's factory to be completed; and on his replying that he had no power to interfere in the business, the Foo-yuen ordered chains to be brought from a mandarin's house in the neighbourhood and to be put on Atain. He threatened to have his head cut off if the premises were not reduced to the state they were in three years ago within the space of two days. He threatened likewise immediate imprisonment and probable decapitation to Howqua, and it was only on his remaining for an hour on his knees that his punishment and that of Atain was remitted at the intercession of the Hoppo, and ten days granted for completing the Foo-yuen's orders. A.D. 1831.

After other observations, Howqua added that the Foo-yuen must have received especial orders from Pekin, or that he would not have dared to act in opposition to the viceroy on this disputed point, nor have been so indiscriminately violent in his mode of carrying them into execution.

Messrs. Daniell and Smith addressed the Foo-

A.D. 1831. yuen, stating, that during the residence of his Excellency the viceroy of Canton, the quay now destroyed was built openly and without opposition, to form one line with the public quay and landing place by its side, and although his Excellency did not permit the ground within the wall to be completed, he never expressed a purpose to injure the quay and embankment granted for the beneficial purpose of facilitating commercial proceedings. They then declared, "we protest against this injurious act, and we confidently trust that your Excellency will issue orders to desist from further destruction of the ground allotted to us, and forthwith cause it to be restored to its state of former utility."

Having left the address with the merchants, who were very unwilling to present it, they returned on the 18th to Macao.

New Regulations.

On the 20th May the Committee received, through the Hong merchants, a proclamation containing eight new regulations for the government of the trade, and to guard against foreigners.

"1st. Foreign merchants must not remain over the winter at Canton. This is an old regulation that should be modified to keeping up at all times a guard against them.

"Let the foreign merchants of all nations, when their goods are sold and business finished, what-

ever the time may be, go home with their ships or go down to Macao and reside there. They must not intentionally delay their departure. By this modification foreigners will all be prevented from lingering long in Canton, and traitorous natives will rarely have a pretext for forming illegal connections. A.D. 1831.

" 2d. Borrowing foreign merchants' money: it is right to eradicate the evil of contracting debts.

" All balances due by Hong merchants must be paid within three months: procrastination will not be permitted; and when they are paid the foreign merchants' receipts must be presented to government and preserved on record. If payment be not made within the limited period, it is allowed to the foreign merchants to prosecute. If he does not choose to prosecute he may do as he pleases, but if he prosecute after the period has expired, government will pay no attention to his claims. This is to eradicate the trick of old and new claims being made to radiate upon each other.

" 3d. The original interdict was to prevent foreign merchants hiring natives to serve them. This requires a little modification. The original regulations run thus: that foreign merchants living in the factories were strictly interdicted from employing any other natives than linguists and compradores.

" It is right to request hereafter that the people

A.D. 1831. necessary in the foreign factories for taking care of cargo, keeping the gate, carrying water, and carrying goods, be hired by the compradore from among natives, and he shall report their names and surnames to the Hong merchants, who with the said factory's compradore shall be made responsible for searching into what they do and controlling them.

" Should any of these people instruct and induce the foreign merchants to act traitorously, let the Hong merchants and compradores report them to government and request that they may be prosecuted.

" 4th. After the foreign merchants enter the port and anchor, let there be at that place, as heretofore, military officers and soldiers appointed to search and examine. In the Hong merchants' factories where foreigners live, let them be under the restraint and control of the Hong merchants to prevent disturbances.

" As to foreign merchants lodging in Hong merchants' factories, it has heretofore been the duty of Hong merchants to govern and control them. *The purchase of goods made by them must pass through the hands of a Hong merchant.* This was originally designed to guard against traitorous natives misleading them, teaching them, urging them on. Hereafter the foreign merchants dwelling in the Hong merchants' factories must not be allowed to presume of their own accord to

go out and in, lest they should trade and carry on clandestine transactions with traitorous natives. A.D. 1831.

" 5th. Foreigners clandestinely taking foreign females to dwell in the factories at Canton, their ascending to sit in shoulder chariots (sedan chairs) must both be interdicted.

" Hereafter it is right to issue strict orders to the chief foreign merchant of every nation disallowing their bringing foreign women to Canton to reside. If they dare wilfully to disobey, their trade will be forthwith stopped, and they immediately sent under escort to Macao. At the same time, let it be made the duty of custom-house cruizers, officers, and soldiers, in the event of meeting foreigners carrying females to Canton, to intercept them and send them back.

" As to foreigners using chairs in Canton, it all arose from traitorous vagabonds giving them, and chair-bearers coveting gain. Besides ordering foreigners of every nation to yield obedience, and that hereafter they must not at Canton city ascend the shore in sedan-chairs, let it be strictly interdicted for traitorous merchants to give chairs to, or hire chair-bearers for a foreigner; and if chairmen, scheming to obtain gain, dare to disobey this order, as soon as it is discovered let them be seized and severely prosecuted.

" 6th. It is right to make it the duty of custom-house cruizers, officers, and soldiers, with more

A.D. 1831. strictness and care to interdict and prevent foreigners from conveying guns and muskets to Canton.

"7th. In case of English Company's captains going backwards and forwards in boats, and foreign merchants' cargo vessels receiving clearances to quit the port, it is right to obey the standing regulations.

"Of the foreign ships that trade, the Company's captains, when they have public duty to attend to, go backwards and forwards in sanpan boats, to interdict and stop which is difficult. It is right to allow them as heretofore to go in boats. If they carry contraband goods let the custom-house officers and soldiers examine strictly and report for the management of the affair. But heretofore there must be a foreign headman or captain in her before a sanpan boat is allowed to go with a flag set. If there be no headman or ship-captain in her, it must not be allowed irregularly to sail about with a flag. Still let the old regulation be adhered to, to prevent confusion.

"In going from Macao to Whampoa and Canton, and from Canton to Whampoa and Macao, let the *permit be requested.** They *must not go and come when and as they please.* Doing so will be an offence that will be inquired into."

"8th. It is necessary to make arrangements

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* A red chop.

concerning foreigners presenting petitions, whether a distinction should not be made in affairs of importance, and it be settled when they must be presented for them, and when they themselves may present them. There must be explicit and fixed regulations, determining whether the Hong merchants are to present petitions for foreign merchants or they are to present them themselves. Thus a confused way of acting and an exceeding what is proper may be prevented. Foreigners are not to presume to go to the city gates and present it themselves. If the Hong merchants intercept the letters and will not present them, then foreigners are permitted to carry them to the city gates and deliver them to the military officer on guard. Two or three only are to go, and not a number to blazon abroad the affair." A.D. 1831.

The Select Committee animadverted at considerable length on the conduct of the Foo-yuen and the edict containing the foregoing regulations, and a conditional notice was issued by the Select Committee in the following terms, *viz.*

" *Notice.* From the disposition which has been recently shewn in various acts of the Canton government, the president and Select Committee are under apprehension that British commerce with China cannot be conducted with credit or security, while it remains exposed to them. They do, therefore, as representatives of the British

A.D. 1831. nation in China, give this public notice, that should the evils complained of remain unremoved, all commercial intercourse between the two countries will be suspended on the 1st August next."

They also addressed the Bengal government, suggesting that a letter to the viceroy from the Governor General would have a good effect, and that such letter should be sent in a vessel of war.

Mr. Lindsay, who had been sent to deliver the keys of the factory and the address from the Select Committee to the viceroy, reported that the Hong merchants considered their lives would be in danger if they were to attempt to present the addresses from the Committee, the viceroy having determined to receive no petition whatever. He demanded, and with difficulty obtained, the addresses, which he stated he should retain for three days, and if they would not deliver them within that time it was his detemrination to proceed to the city gates, and there to remain until they were received.

On the 27th May, the viceroy having deputed the Quang-heep, the magistrate always sent to receive petitions at the city gates, to the factory, Mr. Lindsay determined to present the address to him. That officer arrived at three, and instead of going into the hall of the factory entered the garden, where the Quang-heep was at the water's edge examining with the merchants a plan of the ground. Mr. Lindsay approached him and ad-

dressed him in Chinese in the following terms: A.D. 1831.
" I am a member of the British factory deputed here to present these petitions, and to deliver over the keys of the two British factories to his Excellency the Foo-yuen." Mr. Lindsay then put the petitions and keys into the hands of the Quang-heep, which he rather reluctantly received and gave to Howqua. He then addressed Mr. Lindsay in the Chinese language and made a speech of some length, the purport of which was, that " we ought to trade in peace and quiet; that the Emperor's orders must be obeyed, and that he declined receiving the petition."

Howqua, at the same time, returned them to Mr. Lindsay, who answered that he never yet heard that it was prohibited to present petitions to government. It was observed, that " they ought to be presented through the Hong merchants," upon which Mr. Lindsay said, " they had already been delivered to the Hong merchants, and they state that they dare not present them; I therefore place them in your hands, and request that you will forthwith deliver them and the keys of the Company's factories." He had the plan of the ground which he was holding in his hand. Mr. Lindsay placed the papers on it, so that he had no alternative but to take them. Mr. Lindsay made a low bow and retired. After staying about a quarter of an hour in the garden, the Quang-heep went away without entering the factories.

A.D. 1831. A further notice was issued by the Select Committee to the following effect: "The English came to China for the purposes of commerce; they wish to be the friends of the Chinese people; but their Canton factory has been attacked and their property destroyed, while they were living in peace and quietness at Macao. Chinese natives have been chained and punished in their factories for their connexion with them, and new regulations have been attempted to be imposed upon their commercial transactions to which they never can submit. Public notice has therefore been given, that British intercourse with China will, unless the evils which they complain of be remedied, be suspended at an early date. The English have no other than a feeling of perfect good will to the Chinese people, but they never can submit to oppression."

Private Merchants remonstrate. On the 30th May five resolutions were agreed to by the private British merchants, in which they declared that the notices promulgated by the Select Committee enumerated only a part of the vexatious exactions on the European commerce at Canton; they therefore stated it to be their duty to remonstrate with the members of the Chinese government, and to appeal to their own country against yielding to the caprice of the local authorities. They then adverted to the conduct of Sir Murray Maxwell, to shew how the forts of the Bocca Tigris were silenced; and con-

cluded by expressing their unequivocal approval of the measures of the Select Committee, as conducive to the general interests of the British commerce in China. A.D. 1831.

It appeared by a communication from Mr. Lindsay on his return to the factory on the 1st June, that the linguist Atain, who was carried away in chains on the 12th May, had been released on the 31st, after having been chastised in prison.

The Committee recorded on the 2d June, "our notice in Chinese, which was duly delivered to the Hong merchants and put up in conspicuous places in Canton, was we understand conveyed to the Foo-yuen early in the morning on which it was made public. Those Chinese who have mentioned the subject speak in praise of the paper, and the benefit which it may probably effect, by giving publicity to a statement which may be relied on of the recent occurrences."

On the 4th June private letters from Canton, dated the 1st, confirmed the opinion that a considerable sensation had been created by the Chinese notice; they also stated, on what was considered good authority, that the Foo-yuen had sent to the merchants for the keys and petitions, and that he had opened and read the latter, although the merchants when questioned denied the fact.

On the 9th June the Committee received from Canton copy of an edict from Governor Le, dated

A.D. 1831. at Lychow the 22d May, in which he referred to his memorial to the Emperor of the 19th March, explaining "old regulations designed to guard against foreign barbarians, with modifications thereof by additions or diminutions as agreed in council," and transmitted an imperial edict, issued in consequence of the above memorial, stating, "the English foreign (or barbarian) merchants recently solicited a diminution of fees, and on that account delayed entering the port; again last year they clandestinely brought foreign women to the factories, and by stealth they conveyed muskets and guns to the city of Canton;" and then confirms the whole of the eight regulations already enumerated, which, together with the edict, were publicly promulgated through the merchants.

In the month of June the Select Committee came to a determination not to stop the trade, and closed the statement of their reasons in the following terms:

"We are of opinion that we shall best consult the deep and valuable interests committed to our charge, by postponing any active measures for obtaining redress until we see the result of our reference to the supreme government of India."

Resort of a female to Canton.

The captain of a Danish vessel having taken his wife with him to Canton, the same was reported to the Governor Le, then at Lychow, who on the 16th May issued an edict, stating that the

skipper having, immediately he received orders, left Canton with his wife, therefore " rough clemency a deep scrutiny would be waived ;" but that the trade in future of any offender would be stopped. A.D. 1831.

On the 19th June the Select Committee communicated to the Bengal government their altered determination, adding at the same time, " the president and Select Committee have resolved to unload and load the ships of the season, and to act with their minds fully prepared for further indignity and aggression. But on the termination of the season, when the valuable property of the Company as well as of individuals has been rescued, they deeply feel that the time will be arrived when reparation must be demanded."

On the 20th June the viceroy returned from Hanan to Canton, and refused to receive the addresses from the merchants, who were verbally informed by him that " the landing-place before the Company's factories originally belonged to the territory of the *Celestial Empire;* it was merely the Hong merchants who erected it, and rented it to the barbarian merchants to dwell there. On this occasion his Excellency the Foo-yuen reverently received the *Great Emperor's orders* to take this landing-place, which had been built, and destroy it by excavation ; therefore, his Excellency the Foo-yuen last month descended in person and ordered it to be excavated."

A.D. 1831. The merchants communicated the foregoing in a letter to the Select Committee, who replied to the merchants, that as the Committee's address had been returned unopened, they would not receive through the merchants verbally a message from the government of such a nature.

In the same despatch the Committee reported the case of a captain of the Bombay artillery, who had made an indiscreet representation to the authorities in China of an attack by Chinese pirates on a boat in which he was landing from a country ship at Macao. The necessity was pointed out of a control being given to the supra-cargoes over Company's officers of the Indian establishment, resorting on account of health to China.

The Committee stated in the same letter, that the keys of the Canton factory had been returned to them by the Hong merchants, having never been received by the Foo-yuen, and that the Committee should not consider them entitled to any rent for the two months they were abandoned by them, in consequence of the devastation carried on under the orders of the government.

The reply of the Hoppo to the remonstrance of the merchants contains the following passages:

"Lately the English private merchants, Jardine, Innes, and others, have presented a petition, stating that the whole scope of the regulations is at variance with the principles of justice; thus

whining, disputing, and contradicting, and also requesting to appeal to the Emperor not to permit their being put in practice. This is extreme insolence and opposition. A.D. 1831.

"Moreover, the affairs of the English Company have all hitherto reverted to the chief's control. At present the said chief, Marjoribanks, is profoundly intelligent, and acts with great propriety. The said Jardine, Innes, and others, are merely private English merchants, and are not at all comparable to the Company.

"If the said private merchants really regard their property, they ought indeed to trade on as usual; but if they dislike the restraint imposed by the orders of government, and consider their own private affairs to be disadvantageous, the said private merchants may entirely withdraw their trade, and not trouble themselves to come from a great distance through many countries of different languages.

"When it reaches the Hong merchants, let them immediately take the contents of the reply made by me, the Hoppo, and enjoin them on the said nation's chief, that he may know and act accordingly, and continue to keep Jardine, Innes, and the others, under strict restraint, not allowing them to create disturbance and again dun with petitions."

The Court, in January 1832, communicated their sentiments to the Select Committee at Can- A.D. 1832. Court's views.

A.D. 1832. ton upon the whole of their proceedings. They observed, "the commerce between Great Britain and China is too important to be put to hazard without the most urgent and imperious necessity, and on no account upon considerations of a personal nature. It is of essential moment to the Indian as well as to the home revenues, both as regards the state and the East-India Company, as well as in the regular supply to the British public of an article of general consumption.

"We sought that trade originally: the advantages which it has yielded have induced us to exert every endeavour to secure its continuance. Those exertions have been attended with success; and although late events have led to the expression of opinions in favour of a more decided and less pacific course of policy, we are by no means prepared to adopt or to act upon such opinions.

"To attempt to maintain a purely commercial intercourse, such as that with China, by force of arms, would, in a pecuniary point of view, be anything rather than a matter of profit, even if justice and humanity could allow us for a moment seriously to contemplate such a step."

They condemned the application to the Bengal government for the aid of ships of war, and observed: "It is a notion too commonly entertained and acted upon by you, and encouraged by foreign merchants residing at Canton, that nothing is to be gained from the Chinese by obedience to

their laws and edicts, but that much may be obtained by intimidation. You may have succeeded for the moment in setting the government at defiance; but that government has not only taken the first opportunity to assert its dominion, but also, with the view of making you feel the consequences of disobedience, it had almost invariably deprived you of some advantages which it had either tacitly or avowedly yielded to friendly remonstrances." The Court concluded their letter in the following terms: "The preservation of the national honour is in the hands of his Majesty's government, and it must be for the King's ministers alone to take the responsibility of deciding upon the adoption of extreme measures for vindicating that honour if insulted. These measures, if resorted to, will most materially affect the valuable interests at present dependent upon a peaceful prosecution of our intercourse with China." A.D. 1832.

In February Mr. Lindsay was dispatched on his mission to the north-east coast of China, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff.

In October the Committee observed that nothing had occurred to disturb the tranquillity which had existed in their intercourse with the Chinese authorities.

The Jamesina had returned from the eastward, having, as was stated, sold a large quantity of opium on the coast to the amount of 330,000 dollars, at prices on an average superior to what

A.D. 1832. could have been obtained at Canton: a small quantity of woollens and calicoes were also said to have been sold at advantageous prices. This ship had not been further north than the river Min in Fuh-chow-foo; she there entered the port on the 30th January, and Mr. Innes, the supra-cargo of the Jamesina, proceeded to the capital and presented a request to trade in woollens, calicoes, and rice. This at first was promised by some low and unauthorized mandarins, but, as it appeared, merely with a view of inducing his departure from the city. After a lapse of several days Mr. Innes again returned. Several conferences with the mandarins took place, in which much equivocation was displayed on their part; they finally stated that the Imperial orders positively prohibited foreign ships trading at Fuh-chow. On inquiry being made as to what cause induced him to come there instead of Canton, Mr. Innes stated, "that the exactions at that port were so heavy as to prevent small ships from trading there with advantage." The Jamesina remained twelve days at Fuh-chow, having previously visited Chin-chew Bay and Amoy.

Though this ship had been cruizing on the coast since the beginning of November, no specific notice had been taken of her in any edict of which the Committee had heard. It was accounted for from the circumstance of the Jamesina, previously to her arrival at Fuh-chow, having adopted the

system of avoiding, rather than attracting the notice of the mandarins, whereas the Sylph, from the edicts issued, appeared to have forced herself into notice, by hoisting flags and seeking communication with the government.* A.D.1832.

Every attempt to carry on trade with the natives at Fu-chow proved abortive, and the views of Mr. Innes were completely frustrated through the measures adopted by the local government, who seem throughout to have displayed great moderation and forbearance; for, as Mr. Innes observes, "during all their conferences, which must have been very irritating to the authorities, it is fair to say not an allusion to threat was made on their part;" and as to the little prospect of forcing a trade in European manufactures at the northern ports of the Chinese empire, Mr. Innes remarks, "my mind is made up, that until some important change in the relation of the two countries takes place, the only chance of pushing English manufactures on this coast is by having them a small item in an opium cargo. At the same time it must be stated, that the population of the country are most anxious to trade if they could escape mandarin vengeance."

Copies of two documents relative to the British ships visiting the northern ports of China were

* This vessel returned, and it is reported that her voyage was unsuccessful.

A.D. 1832. forwarded by the Select Committee to the Governor-general; one an extract from the Pekin Gazette alluding to the Lord Amherst, the other an imperial edict lately received from Pekin. The ship therein mentioned is doubtless the Sylph, which left Macao in the month of October, with the intention of proceeding so far north as the lateness of the season would permit. Copies of the last document having been forwarded, both through the viceroy and hoppo, with an urgent request that some reply should be made, the president and Select Committee sent a brief address to the viceroy; after acknowledging the receipt of the communication, and declaring the ship in question was unconnected with the Company, it stated that "it is impossible for us either to prevent or be answerable for vessels which illegally visit the northern ports of the empire. In accordance, however, with the commands of his Imperial Majesty, we shall make known to the British Government in Europe and in India, that, with the exception of Canton, foreign vessels are interdicted from trading with other ports of the Chinese empire."

The continuance of the visit of foreign ships to the northern ports of China appears to have excited much notice; but it is difficult at present to offer any decided opinion as to what may be the result should such voyages become frequent. Experience has very clearly shewn, that the Chi-

nese possess little or no power to enforce the execution of their orders for the immediate expulsion of any ships which may appear on the coast. It also appears, that when removed from the influence of fear of their own government, the people on the coast are well disposed towards foreigners and desirous to engage in trade. The edict from the Emperor to the viceroy of Keang-nan is worthy of remark, as exhibiting a decided wish on the part of that great officer to sound whether any disposision existed on the part of his Imperial Majesty to permit the establishment of foreign trade in that province, such at least may be assumed from the following extract: "If hereafter any such ships make their appearance and anchor within my jurisdiction, I will send special officers to search them and see whether they have prohibited goods or not. If they have, I will drive them away; and if they refuse to obey I will punish them." The natural inference therefore is, that if such ships had no contraband goods the viceroy imagined they might be permitted to trade. The Emperor however replied with much anger, "that this view of the case is entirely erroneous, for foreign ships are on no account to be permitted to trade anywhere but at Canton." A.D. 1832.

Edicts were issued against the resort of ships to the north-east coast. In order to carry them into effect, the governor of Canton was to be made responsible for ships which had entered by

A.D. 1833. the great Ladrone and afterwards proceeded to the north, and he was to take every measure to intercept them. For ships which might go northward by the exterior seas without touching at Canton, the governors of the northern provinces were to be held responsible.

Mr. Innes. In the month of April an occurrence took place at Canton which might have been productive of serious consequences, affecting both life and property as well as involving a breach of the laws.

Mr. James Innes having experienced considerable annoyance from the billeting of large masses of fire-wood "close to the foundation of his house," on a granite pavement, determined to quit it; but at the suggestion of a friend he made a representation to Howqua, one of the Hong merchants, who took the plan of the house, was most civil, and gave every hope of the grievance being removed. Many days elapsed when a linguist brought a verbal statement that the head-man of the Hoppo house had forbid future billeting. It rested for several days, when on the 21st April a note was sent to Mr. Innes's house (he not being at home), stating that the mandarin's coolies were worse than ever. Upon which Mr. Innes, accompanied by two friends, went to the Hoppo's house attended by a compradore, to point out to the head-man the breach of promise on the part of his servants. They passed through a long gallery into the chief's apartment. The head-man was at his siesta,

and the party were in the act of walking back, when "out of the middle of a dark kitchen containing a multitude of men, a cooley advanced, and Mr. Innes was struck at three times by a wood knife or chopper, and wounded in the arm." Mr. Innes pointed him out for recognizance to two of his neighbours and went quietly out; and accompanied by five friends immediately waited on Howqua, and demanded the *instant seizure* for *trial by the Chinese laws* of the party. A.D. 1838.

It was remarked "Howqua trifled; when" (Mr. Innes observed) "I made a solemn oath to assure Howqua if that culprit was not in confinement for trial before sun-down (it was then two P.M.), I would set fire to the Hoppo's house!"

"Howqua had seen so many threats made and not acted on, that he went over the water to his country house and dined. I bought rockets and blue lights, and by eight P.M. the mandarin's house was on fire. At half past eight my barricadoed door was knocked at by Howqua, and after a parley he was shewn up stairs. I, having no high opinion of his veracity, held no words with him till witnessed by Mr. Jardine, who rose from dinner and came to us. Howqua granted every point he had refused at two in his own hong, thus yielding to violence and from fear what was refused to reason and justice, calmly and deliberately asked. The cooley was publicly punished next day, being exposed all over Canton, wearing

Sets fire to the Mandarin's house.

A.D. 1833. the wooden collar with his offence described upon it. The viceroy and hoppo wrote very proper answers to me; and, excepting the merchant's letter to your Committee, I should have considered the affair as finished."

It appears in the correspondence which passed between the Select Committee and Mr. Innes, that the latter considered he was fully justified in the course he adopted, and contended that the Select Committee's powers were inadequate to obtain redress.

The Select Committee informed the merchants that after an investigation of the case they considered Mr. Innes to have acted most unjustifiably.

In May 1833 the Court reviewed the proceedings as to the mission of Mr. Lindsay, who had returned to the factory the 4th September 1832. They observed: "The records afford abundant testimony to the anxious desire we have invariably manifested to discover new channels for commercial dealings with the Chinese; but we have, at the same time, felt all the responsibility which rests upon us, in the discreet and judicious exercise of the privilege with which the East-India Company have been invested, a privilege not conferred upon or exercised by them for their own interest exclusively, but likewise for the benefit and advantage of England and of India.

"We have therefore considered it peculiarly incumbent upon us to watch with unceasing

anxiety the conduct of our servants in China, and to check any disposition which they have evinced to pursue a course of policy which might involve a departure from those sound principles which mature experience has convinced us form the only secure basis upon which an intercourse with that peculiar people can be advantageously maintained. A.D. 1833.

"Whatever may be the result of the present negociation between his Majesty's government and the East-India Company so far as the China trade is concerned, and in which important branch of affairs such great changes are contemplated, we feel it necessary, so long as we shall continue to possess our present exclusive privilege, to desire that you will abstain from the prosecution of any further attempts to extend our intercourse with the Chinese without our previous express sanction, and that you continue to be guided in your relations with the authorities at Canton by the instructions contained in our letter of the 13th January 1832."

By advices received on the 10th of this month (January 1834), from Macao, dated in May last, it appears that several English seamen had been discharged and sent on shore at Macao from the barque Sylph (the same vessel which had made an unsuccessful trip to the north-east coast), two of whom had been apprehended for creating dis-

A.D. 1834. turbances in the city. Her commander was called upon to take measures for re-embarking the five men discharged from her and removing them from China, or of forfeiting her license and of incurring the penalties of the 53 Geo. III., cap. 36.

After some correspondence he complied with the Committee's request.

It appeared, that they had been all implicated in a piratical conspiracy, in conjunction with several other British and American sailors who happened to be out of employ at Macao, the object of which was to seize upon the Company's cutter, and carry her off to the north-east coast of China, with the intention of plundering Chinese junks, and seizing the John Bigger, a British vessel employed there as an opium receiving ship.

This information was privately given to the Select Committee the very day that the men were re-embarked on the Sylph. The Committee lost no time in sending on board and obtaining a deposition from the party who had first mentioned it, a seaman named David Brown. From the statement of this man, and that of an American named McDougal, as also by private information collected from various sources, it appeared that a person named Henry Stoele, lately second mate of a ship called the Sir George Mur

ray, sailing under the new Zealand flag with a pass from New South Wales, had been the ring-leader of the conspiracy. Measures were taken for sending him to Singapore, and ultimately to England. The last advices from China are dated at the close of June 1833. A.D. 1834.

JAPAN.

THE first European of whom there is any record of his having visited the islands of Japan was Marco Polo, who has already been mentioned. He describes the country and its riches, and gives an account of the unsuccessful invasion by the Tartar emperor Khublai Khan, in 1281; since which time it does not appear that any attempt has been made by the Chinese to subjugate Japan.

In 1542, some Portuguese from Malacca are represented to have been wrecked on Japan. Francis Xavier, the celebrated Jesuit missionary, landed at Firando in 1551. In 1636, the Portuguese trade with Japan is stated to have been on the decline.

The Dutch introduced themselves into Japan in April 1600, as will be perceived by the narrative of Adams, who accompanied the expedition; the truth of that narrative is corroborated in the account given by Purchas. In alluding to the first resort of the English to Japan, under Captain Saris, it is erroneously stated that Saris found William Adams, an Englishman, who by strange chance "was flung on the island, and detained there until his death." How he reached Firando is shewn by his own narrative, from which it is also

to be inferred that he was at liberty, had he seen fit, to have quitted Japan.

The relation of the Mission from St. Petersburgh to Japan, under Captain Kreusenstern, in his Voyage round the World, in the years 1804-5-6, is little calculated to raise any favourable impression as to the probability of an advantageous intercourse being at any time established with that empire.—"We gained no new advantages, but even lost those we had possessed, *viz.* the written permission to visit Nangasaki." Although more expectations were entertained when the attempt to establish a trade with Japan was contemplated, during the period Java was under the British rule, no permanent arrangement was effected.

NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE TO JAPAN, BY WILLIAM ADAMS, AN ENGLISHMAN, AS PILOT OF A DUTCH FLEET IN 1598.*

The letter is addressed to the Court, and dated Firando, 23d October 1611.

WILLIAM ADAMS, born at Jellingham in Kent, from the age of twelve to that of twenty-four was an apprentice to a pilot at Limehouse, afterwards served as master in her Majesty's ships; then for

* This narrative is taken from original documents collated by Mr. Pratt, of the Library at the India House.

eleven or twelve years was in the service of the company of Barbary merchants, in which he continued until the India traffic from Holland commenced. Being desirous to acquire some knowledge of this India traffic, in the year 1598 he engaged himself as pilot-major of a fleet of five sail, which the Dutch India Company, "Peter Vandershay and Hanneevander Veek," were then sending out. The general and admiral of this fleet was a merchant named Jaques Maihore, of whose ship Adams was the pilot.

They sailed from Holland on the 24th June 1598. Hence it was too late in the season to pass the Line without encountering contrary winds; so about the middle of September, meeting with southerly winds, and having many men sick, the fleet were forced to go for Cape Gonsalves, on the coast of Guinea. At this place, which afforded little refreshment, and was besides unhealthy, many of the sick died. The fleet now steered for the coast of Brazil, with the design of passing the straits of Magellan. In their way thither they touched at an island called Anna Bona, landed, and took the town containing about eighty houses, and staid to refresh. On 13th November they sailed from Anna Bona, finding the winds still S. and S.S.E., until they got four degrees to the south of the Line, when the winds became more favourable, blowing from the S.E. and the east. On the 29th March they saw the land in latitude

50°, and on the 6th April 1599 they reached the Straits of Magellan, when the winter set in there with much snow: thus their men were assailed at once with cold and hunger. The wind being then for seven days at north-east, they could have passed the Straits, but were compelled to stay in order to refresh the men, to take in wood and water, and to set up a pinnace of twenty tons. When they were ready to proceed, a southerly wind opposed their passage, and they were forced to winter in the Straits, enduring there very cold weather. At length, on 24th September, they were released by the wind changing, and steering west they emerged from the Straits. But now their victuals were all nearly expended, and through insufficient allowance many of their men died.

In the South Sea they encountered many very severe storms, and were driven southward as far as 54°. At last meeting with moderate winds they pursued their intended voyage to the coast of Peru, but in long traverses all the ships of the fleet lost each other. They had appointed a rendezvous on the coast of Chili in latitude 46°, where the several ships were to wait thirty days for a junction. The ship in which Adams then happened to be accordingly went thither, where they staid twenty-eight days, and besides refreshing the men put together a pinnace which they had in four parts. Their Dutch visitors found the natives friendly disposed,

but by reason of the Spaniards, constrained to shun trading with them. At first they brought sheep and potatoes in exchange for billhooks and knives, but eventually the people went up from their houses into the country, and came no more to the ships. At the end of twenty-eight days this single ship quitted the point of rendezvous and ran for the mouth of Baldivia, into which an adverse wind prevented them from entering. Leaving the bay they steered for the island of Much, which they made the next day. Finding none of their fleet there they sailed for St. Maria, and reaching it the following day luffed round the Cape, and anchored in a fair sandy bay. The Dutch sent off some boats to the shore, but the natives would not suffer them to land, discharging great store of arrows to deter them. However, the ship being in want of victuals, the captain sent thirty men to effect a landing by force. These drove the armed savages from the water-side, but were themselves mostly wounded by arrows. This party, in a second attempt to parley, succeeded in making the natives understand that they would exchange iron, silver, and cloth, for provisions. The inhabitants hereupon gave them wine with potatoes and fruit, and by signs desired them to withdraw to the ship, and to return next day, when they should have store of refreshments. Accordingly on the 9th November 1599 the Dutch captain, with all the officers, prepared to go on shore. The people lined the

beach in great numbers, making signs for all the party, except the captain, to land. After some suspense and deliberation the captain nevertheless landed with twenty-three men armed with muskets, and marched up the country towards four or five houses. When these were about a musket-shot from the boats, more than a thousand Indians, who had lain in ambush, fell upon the Hollanders and slew every man, as the survivors in the boats mournfully concluded; for after waiting long to receive them on board none returned. The crew of the ship was hence so reduced that they had scarcely men enough left to heave the anchor.

Next day the ship went over to the island of St. Maria, where they found their admiral, who had arrived on the coast four days before, while the two vessels had been separated. They were partners in misfortune, the admiral's ship having likewise had the general, the master, and all the officers massacred on land; so that all the commissioned officers of the two now in company were slain. Being still at St. Maria on the coast of Chili, in latitude 37° 12′ south, it was now agreed in council, because they were so weakly manned, to burn one of the ships, and to transfer her cargo to the other; but neither of the new-made captains would assent to his ship being the one destroyed, so that design was relinquished. Having much cloth on board, it was then agreed to steer for Japan, it being understood that cloth was there

good merchandize. It was further considered, that the Spanish king's ships, having knowledge that the Dutch vessels were weakly manned, were on the look-out for them. The two ships on the 27th of November 1599 left the island of St. Maria, and stood directly for Japan.

After passing the Line they kept company till the 23d of February 1600, when being in latitude 28° north, they encountered a furious storm, and the ship in which Adams was, lost her consort. On the 19th of April 1600, she made the coast of Japan in latitude 32½°. At this time there were but six of the crew besides Adams that could stand upon their feet. The ship anchored about a league from a place called Bovingo. Many boats from shore immediately boarded them, the Dutch being unable to resist their visit and the Japanese offering no violence. Meanwhile neither of the parties understood the language of the other. Three days after their arrival came a Jesuit from Nangasack, to which place the Portuguese Carrack from Amacan traded annually, and this man, with some Japanese, who were Christians, acted as their interpreters, but not to the benefit of the Dutch, their deadly enemies being their linguists. Nevertheless the king of Bovingo shewed them great friendship, giving them a house to live in, where they landed their sick, and had all needful refreshments. The crew at their arrival consisted of twenty-four sick and whole, of whom six died at Bovingo.

Meanwhile the Emperor hearing of the arrival of the Dutch, sent five galleys or frigates to conduct Adams to the then seat of his court, distant from Bovingo about eighty English leagues. When Adams appeared before him, he demanded, "of what country they were?" On this and other points, Adams answered him. There was nothing that was not demanded, especially concerning wars and peace between the countries of Europe. After this examination, Adams, with his servant, a Dutchman, were committed provisionally to custody, but were well treated. Two days afterwards Adams was again carried before the Emperor, who inquired the reason "of their coming so far." Adams, speaking on the part of the Dutch replied, they were a people who sought friendship with all nations and to have trade in all countries, bringing such merchandize as their own afforded to exchange for foreign commodities. The Emperor inquired also concerning the war between the Spaniards with the Portuguese and the Dutch, and the origin of it: to all which Adams gave answers to the Emperor's satisfaction. Nevertheless he was again remanded to prison, but his lodging was in a better place. Here he lay thirty-nine days without any news from the ship, expecting every day to be sentenced to the cross.

In the interval the Jesuits and the Portuguese gave in many informations against the Dutch, accusing them with being robbers of all nations,

and alleging that, were they suffered to live, it would be to the detriment of his Highness the Emperor and of his country; and that were justice executed upon this crew, it would awe the rest of the Dutch, and deter them from coming to Japan. The Portuguese went on thus daily, employing the advantages of access to the Emperor and interest with friends at court, to hasten Adams's death. "But God" (says Adams) "shewed mercy unto us." In the end the Emperor gave the Portuguese answer, that the Dutch as yet had done no harm, either to himself or to any of his land; therefore it was contrary to reason and justice to put such of that nation as had come to Japan, to death. If the two countries of Spain and Holland were at war, that was no reason why he should slaughter the Dutch.

Meanwhile, by the Emperor's command, the ship had been brought as near as might be to the city where he was, and at the end of forty-one days he caused Adams to be brought before him, and inquired whether he was desirous to go on board the ship and see his supposed countrymen? Adams answered, "very gladly." Whereupon the Emperor liberating him bade him do so. This was the first news he had of the ship being brought to the city.

Adams went in a boat to rejoin the captain and the remnant of the crew. The meeting was one of mutual surprise and joy, those in the ship having

been given to understand that he had been executed long since. During this suspense all the cargo and other valuables had been taken by the Japanese out of the ship. Adams thus lost all his books, instruments, and clothes. In the same manner the captain and crew had been deprived of every thing worth taking. All this was done without the knowledge of the Emperor, and when the fact was reported to him he commanded that those who had taken the goods should restore them; but these were so scattered here and there, that the Dutch merchants and crew could not recover their effects again, saving only 50,000 rials in money, which was brought into the Emperor's presence and delivered into the hands of an officer appointed governor over the Dutch, in order to disburse it to them to buy victuals and other special necessaries as they should have occasion.

After the ship had lain thirty days before the city called Sakay, two and a-half or three leagues from Azaka, where the Emperor at that time resided, she was carried by his order to the eastern-most part of the land called Quanto, distant from Sakay 120 leagues.

She now lay near the city of Eddo in the said province of Quanto, whither the Emperor at the same time travelled and held his court. Adams, by daily supplications to the Emperor, endeavoured to get the ship cleared, with liberty for the Dutch merchants to go where they could

obtain traffic; in soliciting which, much of the 50,000 dollars restored by the Emperor, was expended. Meanwhile a mutiny broke out among the crew, who refused to remain longer in the ship, and required that the cash refunded by the Emperor should be divided equally among them. In the end, after being two years in Japan, and after the acting chiefs had received a denial to their request to have the ship freed, with an order that they should abide in Japan, the money was divided according to rank, and every one took his way whither he thought best.

Eventually the Emperor gave every man two pounds of rice daily, and made besides a yearly allowance, equal to eleven or twelve ducats, to Adams, the captain, and the mariners.

In the course of four or five years the Emperor called Adams before him, as he had divers times before done, and desired him to build a small ship. Adams replied that he was no carpenter, and had no knowledge thereof. "Well! do your endeavours," said he; "if it be not good, it is no matter." Adams accordingly built a ship of eighty tons, in all respects on the English plan, which gave the Emperor great satisfaction, and raised Adams so high in his favour that his Majesty would have him always come into his presence, giving him from time to time many marks of his grace and bounty. Besides which he assigned him a stipend equal to seventy ducats yearly, with a daily allow-

ance of two pounds of rice. Adams recommended himself still further to the Japanese monarch by teaching him some points of geometry and elements of the mathematics, with other things that attracted his understanding. Hence the Emperor acquired a habit of assenting to what Adams proposed; and his former enemies, wondering at his influence, entreated him to do them a friendship. Adams accordingly did good offices both to the Spaniards and Portuguese, recompensing good for evil.

At the end of five years Adams supplicated the Emperor for leave to depart from Japan, desiring to see his wife and children in England. With this request the Emperor was not well pleased, refusing to let him go. In process of time, being in high favour at court, and hearing that the Hollanders had vessels at Siam and Patania, he renewed his prayer for permission to quit Japan, speaking directly to the Emperor. His Majesty at first gave no answer. Adams then told him, that to let him go for Europe would be a means of bringing the English and Dutch nations to traffic at Japan, of which his Majesty was very desirous; but the Emperor would not suffer him to go. Adams then asked leave for the Dutch captain to depart, which the Emperor presently granted, and the captain sailed in a junk to Patania. No Hollanders coming thither in the space of a year he went from Patania to Jehore, and there found a fleet of nine sail

under General Madlidf. The late provisional captain in Japan, to whom Adams had entrusted letters, was appointed master in this fleet, and was soon after slain at Malacca. Hence Adams is apprehensive that no news of himself has yet reached England; he therefore adjures the worshipful court to make his being alive in Japan known to his poor wife and two children.

Adams had made a voyage or two in the ship which he built for the Emperor; and, by his Majesty's command, he had since built another, in which he made a voyage from Meaco to Eddo, being as far as from London to the Land's-end in England.

At the date of Adams's Letter, October 1611, the Emperor, in reward for his services, had given him a manor, with eighty or ninety husbandmen as his slaves or servants.

In 1609 the Emperor of Japan lent the larger ship which Adams built and eighty of his men to the governor of Manilla to sail to Acapulco. The occasion of this hospitable act was as follows. A great ship, called the St. Francisco, of 1,000 tons, was cast away on the coast of Japan, in latitude 35° 50′, in which ship the governor of Manilla was returning to New Spain. In 1610 the governor of Manilla arrived at Acapulco in the vessel lent him; and in 1611 sent another in her place, with a rich present and embassy, to thank the Emperor for his friendship. The ship which

Adams built, the Spaniards had now in the Philippines.

In 1609 two Holland ships came to Japan. Their intention was to take the carrack which comes yearly from Macao, for which object they were five or six days too late. They nevertheless came to Firando, and the Dutch chiefs proceeded to the Emperor's court, where they were received with great friendship, making a condition with the Emperor to send a ship or two yearly, and then with his pass they departed.

In 1611 a small Dutch ship came to Firando, laden with cloth, lead, elephants' teeth, damask, black taffety, raw silk, pepper, and other commodities, and bearing an excuse for not having come in 1610, which ship was wondrously well received. The Hollanders, says Adams, have in Japan an "Indies" of money, so that there is no need for silver to be sent out from Holland for investments; for in Japan is much silver and gold to serve for the Hollanders to handle whither they will in the East Indies, which is always provided for their commodities, which are generally lead, raw silk, and pieces of damask, black taffeties, black and red cloths of the best quality. Such like imports are ready money in Japan.

Adams concludes his letter with a short description of Japan.

This island of Japan is a great land, and lieth in latitude 48° at the south extremity, and 35° at the

north, in length 220 English leagues. The people are good of nature, courteous out of measure, and valiant in war. Justice is severely executed upon transgressors without partiality. There is not in the world a land better governed by civil policy. The people are very superstitious in their religion, being divers in opinion. There are many Christians by reason of the Jesuits and Franciscans, which are numerous, having many churches in the land.

In writing to the Company's factory at Bantam, Adams stated: If a ship came from England to traffic at Japan, not any nation should receive a better welcome; and this it was in his power to procure, for which he praises God who had given him favour with the Emperor: hence he could boldly promise that his countrymen should be as welcome and as free, in comparison, as in the river of London.

But with respect to the object and fruits of the proposed factory, Adams feared that there would be no profit, and specified the principal grounds for apprehending so, namely, "the same articles which are the staple commodities of our country, that is, cloths of a good quality, are already too cheap in Japan, by reason that the annual ship from New Spain on the one part, and the Hollanders on the other, have made good cloth as cheap in Japan as in England.

The imports which the Dutch brought from Holland were cloth, lead, steel, looking-glasses,

diaper and holland, also amber. They brought pepper shipped on the way: the price which it fetches at Firando is 40*s*. per 100lbs.; cloves £5 sterling per 100lbs. The ship which came from Patania brought raw silk, damask, taffaty, velvet, satin, with all other China commodities, collected there by a circuitous traffic.

Adams observed, "could our English merchants, after settling in Japan, procure trade with the Chinese, then shall our country make great profit here, and the Company will not have need to send money out of England; for in Japan there are gold and silver in abundance, and therefore by the traffic here they will take in exchange money enough for their investments in the Indies.

"The Hollanders are now (1612) settled in Japan, and I (Adams) have got them that privilege, which the Spaniards could never obtain in the fifty or sixty years since they first visited Japan."

Adams then counsels the agent at Bantam as to the best part of Japan for the seat of a factory. "Moreover, if a ship do come, let her not come where the Hollanders are (meaning to Firando), for it is a bad place for the sale of goods; but let her come for the easterly part of Japan, lying in latitude 35°, where the King's and the Emperor's court is. Besides, should our ships come to Firando, thence to the court is about 230 leagues, a wearisome way. The city of Edo lieth in 36°,

and about this easterly part are the best harbours and a clear coast, so that there are no shoals nor rocks half a mile from the mainland; it is also good for the sale of merchandize.

He sends to the agent at Bantam a pattern of japan, for which he had derived materials in voyages along the coast in shipping which he had built for the Emperor.

Near the close of his letter Adams wrote: "And comes there a ship here, I hope the worshipful Company shall find me to be a servant of their servants, in such manner as that they shall be satisfied with my services. If any ship come near the easternmost part of Japan, let them enquire for me. I am called in the Japan tongue "Augin Samma;" by that name am I known all the sea-coast along. Nor fear to come near the mainland, for you shall have barks with pilots to carry you where you will."

He then thanks Spalding for the present of a Bible and three other books; and desires Spalding to offer his humble salutations to Sir Thomas Smyth, and thank him for lending his wife £20.

This, his first letter addressed to the English factory at Bantam, thus concludes: "Had I known that our English ships had trade in the Indies, I had long ago troubled you with writing, but the Hollanders kept it most secret from me 'till the year 1611, which was the first news I had of the trading of our ships in the Indies."

In 1613 Captain Saris, who was termed "Company's General," with Mr. Cocks, and through the instrumentality of Adams, settled a factory at Firando. Captain Saris reached Firando on the 12th June, and Adams immediately hastened from the eastern part of the island to meet him, which he effected on the 29th July, and after a conference they agreed to go up to the Emperor with King James's letter. They left Firando on the 7th August, and began their "journey up to court, having the privilege of post horses to any number they had need of."

The Emperor having entered the hall of audience and the general coming before him, the secretary took the King's letter from his hands and delivered it to the Emperor, who receiving it into his own hand, with all kindness bade the general welcome. The general having finished delivering his present, returned to his lodgings. The Emperor then called Mr. Adams, who read and interpreted the King of England's letter. The Emperor having understood it, bade Mr. Adams to tell the general to state to the Secretary, or to Mr. Adams, what he desired, and it should be granted or answer thereto. General Saris was sent for to receive this intimation, and then retired. After his departure the Emperor "reasoned with Mr. Adams of many things." Adams having been thus consulted by the Emperor, took his leave, and rejoined the general at his lodging. On the next day General Saris put

in writing his articles, embracing such privileges as were thought requisite. So, on the following morning, "we went" to the secretary's, where the general delivered to him his draft of articles, and after divers speeches departed to his lodgings, while Mr. Adams with the treasures (*i. e.* the intended presents) proceeded to the court. Soon afterwards the Emperor, hearing that Mr. Adams was come, sent for him and entered into conference with him. In the end, the Emperor having looked upon the request expressed in the articles delivered to him, he told Mr. Adams that he should have them granted.

Having dispatched this important affair, Adams proceeds to relate the rest of the conversation. After much discourse respecting England the Emperor asked me, "if our countrymen could not find the north-west passage?" I told him our countrymen had made many discoveries, and still do, but as yet had not found it: so he asked me, "if we knew of a land not above ten leagues from his land on the north part? Where his subjects have a strong town and castle, through which means they have *thirty days' journey friendship* with those people." The country is called "Yedzoo." By all likelihood, observes Adams, it is "a kind of Tartores" (meaning, inhabited by a tribe of Tartars). The Emperor told me that Yedzoo is a great land. By my judgment it is a promontory that striketh with a great byth or elbow from

the coast of Corea, and so trendeth again to the north-eastward to Cattay, or the land of the great Cham. The Emperor asked me if the general's coming were not in part of discovery? I told him, I knew not. He asked me if I would go in such a discovery? I answered, that if the worshipful Company should send a ship here, or build one here, by their order, I would be most willing in such an honourable action. He told me if I would, or did go, he would give me his letter to Matesman and Yedso,* to further me therein, in which place his subjects have some towns and castles, by which the Tartores have trade with the Japanners.

The Emperor permitted them to erect factories at Firando and other places. The privileges of trade were specified in seven articles.

Adams relates the difficulty which he had to get his liberty from the Emperor. Having procured Captain Saris's despatches from the Japanese council of state, he applied to the members of it to speak on his behalf to the Emperor; but none would, knowing that Adams had, before the Clove's arrival, made divers unavailing requests for leave to depart. At length he himself seized an opportunity, when called in by the Emperor on other business. After mutual discourse on many things, finding him in a good mind, Adams made himself bold, and having in his bosom the Emperor's broad seal, he took it, and with reverence laid it down,

* The southern part of the island of Jesso.

before him, and gave him most humble thanks for his favour and love. The Emperor viewing this with wonder, at length asked Adams if he desired to go for his country? Adams answered, very desirous. The Emperor replied, that considering his good behaviour and his good services to him, to deny him were to do an injury, and gave him leave, in all friendship, to tarry or to go. Having thus obtained his liberty, in December 1613, with unspeakable joy he returned to the general.

1614. 16 March. At this date it was reported that all the Spanish Padries were to quit Japan, as it should seem the name of a Christian had become odious: for on 6th March 1613-14, being Sunday, the factory at Firando had put out the Company's flag, as their custom was; but in the afternoon Foyné Samma sent Agent Cock word to take it in, because it had a cross on it. The agent did not comply on the instant; but after two messages Mr. Cock went to Foyné Samma himself, and excused the matter as well as he could, telling him that this cross was not made in the form of the cross of Christ, but was rather used for a badge or token, whereby the English nation was known from all others, as the Dutch were by their colours of orange, white, and blue. Yet all would not serve, but down it must come; Foyné telling the agent it was the Emperor's will that it be discontinued, only the factory might put out any other mark they would, a cross excepted; and that their ships might bear a

cross upon the water, but not the factory house on land.

In December 1613 Agent Cock, accompanied by Messrs. Adams and Sayer, went from Firando to Nangasaque, intending to purchase a junk to be sent on a voyage to Siam. But finding all the vessels there engaged for other destinations, they hired freight on a junk for a cargo to Cochin China. Nangasaque.

Nangasaque* seems to have been a port to which Firando occasionally consigned goods, and sent factors, as more convenient to embark at than Firando, when the destination of the ship or junk was to places in Japan or neighbouring countries, lying so as to require a passage between the Japanese islands to the north and east. Vessels seem also to have been sometimes consigned thither from Firando to take in part of their lading: for example, some articles of native produce, manufacture, or import more easily procurable at Nangasaque. The Emperor's factor also resided there, being no less a personage than the governor of the place.

In August of this year the Company's factors in Japan commenced a negotiation for opening a trade into China, in which they employed as agents two Chinese merchants usually resident in Japan, but trading periodically to their own country and visiting the interior. The one was chief of the Chinese

* Generally written *Nangasaki.*

at Firando, as the other was of their countrymen at Nangasaque.

In this attempt the factory expended large sums of the Company's money in presents to persons in power at the Chinese court, and in cash supplied to the intermediate envoys. This negotiation was continued until the party was withdrawn from Firando in 1623, at which time it had not succeeded: and the prospect of success "which various adverse interests obscured, was becoming evanescent."

An attempt had likewise been made in 1615 to open a trade with the islands of Loochoo.

It is recorded on the consultations of the English factory of Firando in December 1623, that it was considered ineligible to leave any person of the factory there behind, as the president's order empowered them to do. In lieu thereof it was resolved to leave a power with Captain Cornelius Newrode, chief of the Dutch factory, to recover the outstanding debts due to the English Company. —And with respect to the Company's houses and godowns, the council agreed to deliver them, as Batavia had ordered, into the King of Firando's custody, to be preserved for the Company, and in case the factory return, restored: and for greater security a writing to that effect was to be taken from him or one of his bonjews.*

* Secretary.

The Company's agent at Firando wrote to the Court, under date 13th and 14th December 1620: —"Our good friend Captain William Adams, who was so long before us in Japan, departed out of this world the 16th May last, and made Mr. William Eaton and myself his overseers: giving the one half of his estate to his wife and child in England, and the other half to a son and a daughter he hath in Japan. A.D. 1620. Death of Adams.

"I cannot but be sorrowful for the loss of such a man as Captain William Adams was: he having been in such favour with two Emperors of Japan as never was any Christian in these parts of the world, and might freely have entered and had speech with the Emperors when many Japan Kings stood without and could not be permitted. This Emperor hath confirmed the lordship to his son which the other Emperor gave to the father."

The following notice is also entered upon the agent's journal, *viz.* 1620, 21—Feb. 20th, a child of the late Captain William Adams was brought by its mother to agent Cocks', who presented it with a tais, offering at the same time to pay for its support and education, provided the mother would give it up to the protection of the English nation."

Various attempts were made to resume the trade with Japan until 1672, when the project was finally abandoned.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

THE point which most strongly presses itself upon attention in contemplating the character of the Chinese nation, is the unvarying policy which has been observed by its government, notwithstanding the changes which have taken place in the dynasty of the empire: a policy not confined to its political proceedings, but acted upon with equal pertinacity in its commercial dealings from the period external traffic has been at all countenanced by the court of Pekin.

When we compare the accounts which are given of the earliest embassies to that court, with those which have taken place within the last fifty years, we see so exact an accordance in the minutest particulars, that every doubt which might have arisen as to the correctness of the narratives given of remote missions is removed, and authenticity stamped upon details regarding which scepticism might have reasonably been permitted.

It is clear that the Chinese nation has ever been, and still continues to be, decidedly opposed to the formation of any treaty by which a settled intercourse upon a reciprocal basis might be

effected between it and other countries; China undeviatingly and successfully maintaining her policy of preserving her frontiers from the intrusion of strangers.

Amongst European nations Russia stands alone in her relations with China; but the privilege which she once enjoyed of sending her merchants and caravans to Pekin has been withdrawn; her commercial traffic is now restricted to the interchange of commodities at Kiakhta, and her ambassador has been denied admittance within the limits of the Celestial Empire. She has indeed a mission at Pekin, but it possesses the character of an ecclesiastical rather than a political establishment. The members of it reside for a given time at the capital, for the professed purpose of acquiring the languages of the country, and return to Russia as soon as they have finished their studies. The countenance shewn to them by no means partakes of that liberal character which is usually evinced towards learned and scientific men, engaged in acquiring and diffusing general and useful information.

Russia presents an extraordinary instance of the rapid rise of a nation to power and influence The singular genius and unconquerable perseverance of the czar, Peter the Great, not only enabled him to follow up the successes of his predecessors in shaking off the Tartarian yoke, but to bring under subjection those powerful though

savage hordes which so thickly bordered his dominions, and had spread terror amd dismay even to the gates of Moscow.

The same period presents also the opening of her connection with Persia. The czar having at the instance of the Court of Ispahan marched a force towards Iran for the purpose of subduing the rebellious Affghans, an event which prepared the way for the footing which Russia has since obtained in that quarter.

As the power of the Czar increased, the jealousy and suspicions of the Chinese were awakened.

If we view China in reference to those nations which have approached her with embassies by sea, we find without an exception how completely each has failed in attaining its object. Her commercial, as contrasted with her political system, is of recent origin; the latter existed for centuries before Great Britain assumed any eminence amidst the states of Europe; but the policy of China as regards external commerce, so far at least as the intercourse of those European powers, "whose merchants have been as princes," is concerned, cannot claim a more distant origin than the two last centuries.

At the earliest period of that intercourse no other impediments than those of exorbitant charges and forced observance of the peculiar regulations of the port appear to have existed; but as the value of the trade increased, and the

advantage derived to the natives became more known, the mandarins of the province of Canton, desirous to monopolize its benefits, exercised their influence with its viceroy, and through him the Emperor's edict was procured prohibiting the resort of ships to any of the eastern ports, and restricting the foreign trade to the port of Canton.

The outline which has been given of the origin and progress of the British intercourse with China, can scarcely fail to be considered dry and tedious by the generality of readers, who feel no other interest in that empire and its myriads than being secured in the uninterrupted supply of "that cup which cheers but not inebriates." Should they, however, glance at these pages, they may be led to think for a moment of the perils, difficulties, and cost which have attended the origin, progress, and establishment of the East-India Company's trade with China.

It was their care and influence that fostered and secured for their country the benefits of the tea trade; and although in later years the Americans, imitating the example, have entered largely into that branch of commerce, their transactions have been very variable in character and extent, whilst the agency of the Company has been conducted with a regularity and to a magnitude which has established in behalf of their country with the native government an influence paramount to that of any other nation in the world. It has

likewise enabled the Company's representatives to temporise,* without sacrifice of character, to extend a protecting influence over the country trade, and to present, when necessary, a counterpoise to the combinations of the Hong merchants: circumstances which have been felt and acknowledged as upholding the character and station of foreigners generally at Canton.

The privilege which the East-India Company so long enjoyed of the exclusive trade in tea, was not obtained from time to time by any influence which they could exert, but was continued by the voluntary act of the Parliament of this country, under a conviction that the great advantages derived therefrom by the nation would be best preserved by a continuance of it in the hands of the Company. Much obloquy was cast upon the Company for the imputed tenacity with which they held their exclusive privilege. They were not unfrequently taxed with entertaining narrow prejudices, which not only prevented the diffusion in their own country of knowledge respecting China, but which operated likewise adversely to the moral improvement of the natives with whom we came in contact.

If defence were needed against imputation for which no solid ground existed, it might be found in the character and constitution of a corporate

* *Vide* Report on China Trade, *Parliamentary Papers.*

body, the directors of which are not merely accountable to their constituents, but responsible to the nation for the discreet and judicious exercise of an exclusive and most important privilege upon which so considerable a portion, not only of the national influence, but revenue, rested.

That the East-India Company have not been backward in giving their patronage to works calculated to facilitate the acquisition of the Chinese tongue, has been seen in the Dictionary by Dr. Morrison, which was printed at a cost of upwards of £9,000. Two young men were sent out at an early period by the Company to learn the language. Other instances might be enumerated, but the best proof is perhaps to be found in the encouragement which has been given to the members of the Company's factory who have been most zealous in studying it, many of whom have attained the greatest proficiency, both in speaking and writing Chinese.

The members of that factory are now about to retire from the scene of those labours, which have been so successfully exerted, often under the most trying and embarrassing circumstances, in promoting the interests and in upholding the honour of their native country. Errors in judgment may undoubtedly have arisen in the discharge of functions of an arduous nature, amidst a people the most singular perhaps which the face of the globe presents; and at a

distance from the aid of those councils to which in such critical junctures they would gladly have resorted. Truth and justice unite however in bearing testimony to the assertion, that the Company have possessed, throughout the lengthened period of their connection with China, as their representatives, men who have proved themselves as honourable and efficient a body of functionaries as have ever been called into the service of their country.

In contemplating the future, it is impossible not to be struck most forcibly at the entire change about to take place, in the total abandonment of the system under which our intercourse with China has been so successfully carried on.

The measure, however, be the results what they may, is the act of the nation; scarcely a voice was to be heard out of the Court of Proprietors, in opposition to the new system in which the current of public opinion, and the assumed interests of commerce, have led the nation to embark.

The progress of the principles of free trade, sound in themselves if met by a reciprocity on the part of other countries, had indeed gradually prepared the way for the abolition of the Company's exclusive privileges; and his Majesty's Government had long ago announced to the organs of the Court of Directors the impossibility of their attempting to continue that privilege beyond April 1834. The country was declared to be

against it; the mercantile interest of London which in 1813 so strenuously opposed the opening of the trade with India, to the outports of this country if it did not directly support, yet tacitly acquiesced in the present measure regarding the China trade, when publicly announced. If the results prove favourable, and it is fervently to be wished they may, the country will owe them to herself; but, if adverse, she has herself alone to blame.

It is needless to speculate upon the feelings with which the Chinese will receive the intelligence of the change, the reception they will give to his Majesty's superintendents, or the countenance they will afford to the establishment of the intended court of judicature within the port of Canton.

His Majesty's government has evinced every desire to secure the best experience in aid of the chief superintendent who proceeds from this country, having offered the appointments of second and third superintendent to two of the Company's servants, now members of the factory.

The first step in the new proceeding involves a point of no little difficulty and delicacy. The appearance of a King's ship has invariably created a strong sensation amongst the authorities, and its admission within the Bogue, excepting under peculiar circumstances, has been attended with much embarrassment.

That a ship of war has forced the Bogue, and proceeded to Whampoa in contravention of the laws of China and in defiance of the local authorities, is quite true, and there can be no doubt that such a step may be repeated; but when there shall be no body constituted like that of the Company's supracargoes possessing means to step in as a mediator between the parties at issue, it is impossible to foresee what consequences may arise from the change.

The authority usually exercised by the captain of a British man of war, where not restricted by special orders, is so great, that the Chinese have nothing to oppose to it but the obstinacy of their natural character; but this in the end might prove fatal to the interests we desire to uphold. Rather than submit to foreign influence, the Emperor, following the alleged example of his predecessors, when the cultivation of cotton became the occasion of disturbances in his kingdom, of ordering the plant to be destroyed, might deal in the same manner with the article of tea. Any prosecution by warlike means of commercial objects, whilst it would involve a departure from the principles of national justice, would, as the Court of Directors have justly remarked, "be in itself anything rather than a matter of profit, even if justice and humanity could allow us for a moment to contemplate such a step."

Hitherto the country trade from India with

China has been completely under the control of the supracargoes, the licenses granted by the India governments containing specific provisions for that purpose.

Their power over the Company's ships was complete, and there appears to be as little doubt that the laws, so long as the exclusive privilege rested with the Company, invested the Select Committee with ample powers over British subjects generally. How far the superintendents appointed by his Majesty will continue to possess such powers, legal authorities can alone decide: but unless the superintendents have ample powers, their control will be worse than nugatory.

Much may be anticipated from a knowledge of the Chinese language becoming more general amongst Europeans.

Various successful attempts have been made within these few years to encourage its study. One is, the establishment of the Anglo-Chinese college at Malacca.* This interesting institution

* To ensure the permanence of the institution the premises are vested in trustees, some of whom reside in England and others in India. It derives its support from voluntary subscriptions, made locally and in Great Britain.

When the history of many institutions which have conferred vast benefits on mankind is considered, it may without presumption be hoped that the Anglo-Chinese College, small as its beginning has been, will, under the favour of Divine Providence, become the instrument of diffusing largely the highest benefits of religious and social cultivation over that most impor-

was founded in 1818 at Malacca, on the premises of the Ultra Ganges Mission, belonging to the London Missionary Society.

It owes its origin to the enlightened zeal of the Reverend Dr. Morrison, for the diffusion of the benefits of Christianity and European literature and science in China and the great eastern Archipelago. He presented £1,000 towards the buildings, besides incurring other considerable expenses in promoting its objects. These objects are the extension of Christianity by oral instruction and by the press, and the reciprocal cultivation of Chinese and European literature, by rendering the former accessible to the natives of the western hemisphere, and the latter to those who use the Chinese language. The cultivation of the Malay and other languages spoken in the adjacent continent and islands, is also in a subordinate degree embraced.

The London Missionary Society has hitherto furnished the European professors, besides affording other support. The Company have been annual subscribers through their supracargoes. The institution has also found warm and liberal

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tant and interesting portion of the globe in which it has been founded.

The existence of such an establishment presents an interesting fact when viewed in connection with the presage of Confucius, the Chinese philosopher, and the remark of Dr. Jackson thereon —*Vide* pages 45 and 47.

promoters in the gentlemen who formerly have been, and those who still are members of the factory at Canton, whose sanction is of itself sufficient to stamp a high value upon it.

The plan comprehends (as soon as the state of the funds will allow it to be acted on) a provision for the maintenance of poor students, especially natives, whose talents may qualify them to become instructors to their countrymen.

The College possesses a considerable library of European, Chinese, and Malay books, which is constantly receiving augmentations. It contains also a printing establishment, at which a Chinese translation of the Scriptures, under the superintendence of Dr. Morrison, and the late Rev. Dr. Milne, a translation of the Liturgy of the Church of England made by Dr. Morrison, and various publications on other important subjects in Chinese, have been printed. Translations of small portions of the Scriptures and other works into Malay, have also been issued from it.

The average number of students during the later years, may be taken as between twenty and thirty; at the date of the last report received it was twenty-four. Two of the students who had completed their own studies were retained as assistant-teachers; and there was a prospect of engaging three other senior students in that and collateral occupations. Natives have been lately sent from Canton in the Company's ships, for the

purpose of receiving a European education at Rome. May they not be sent to Great Britain?

A vast and unrestricted field is now opening as regards intercourse with India, China, the various islands in the Indian Archipelago, in the China seas, and with New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and the islands of the Pacific, and with South America. It would be foreign to the purpose of this work to enter upon so enlarged a subject. It is impossible, indeed, not to feel that matters have been already noticed which do not strictly belong to the question of China; but an outline of the principles upon which so important a branch of British commerce has hitherto been conducted, and a reference to the more general principles which have governed our national interests, may perhaps not altogether have been misplaced.

His Majesty's ship Andromache, now under sailing orders at Plymouth, is appointed to take out Lord Napier to Canton as Chief Superintendent.

List of PRESIDENTS *of the* SELECT COMMITTEE, *from* 1785.

1785-86.	Mr. W. H. Pigou.
1786-87.	Mr. Henry Browne.
1789-90.	Mr. John Harrison.
1791-92.	Mr. Henry Browne.
1796-97.	Mr. Richard Hall.
1802-3.	Mr. James Drummond.
1806-7.	Mr. J. W. Roberts.
1809-10.	Mr. Henry Browne.
1811-12.	Mr. J. F. Elphinstone.
1816-17.	Sir George T. Staunton.
1819-20.	Sir J. B. Urmston.
1826-27.	Sir W. Fraser.
1827-28.	Sir W. Fraser; upon his death, Mr. W. H. C. Plowden.
1828-29.	Mr. W. H. C. Plowden.
1829-30.	Mr. W. H. C. Plowden; on his resignation Mr. W. Baynes.
1830.	Mr. C. Marjoribanks.
1832.	Mr. W. H. C. Plowden.

ORDERS IN COUNCIL.

At the Court at Brighton, the 9th day of December 1833,

PRESENT,

The KING'S Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

WHEREAS by a certain Act of Parliament, made and passed in the third and fourth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled "An Act to regulate the trade to China and India," it is, amongst other things, enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, by any such order or orders, as to his Majesty in Council shall appear expedient and salutary, to give to the superintendents in the said act mentioned, or any of them, powers and authorities over and in respect of the trade and commerce of his Majesty's subjects within any part of the dominions of the Emperor of China; and to make and issue directions and regulations touching the said trade and commerce, and for the direction of his Majesty's subjects within the said dominions; and to impose penalties, forfeitures, or imprisonments for the breach of any such directions or regulations to be enforced in such manner as in the said order or orders shall be specified:

And whereas the officers of the Chinese government, resident in or near Canton, in the empire of China, have signified to the supracargoes of the East-India Company at Canton the desire of that government that effectual provision should be made by law for the good order of all his Majesty's subjects resorting to Canton, and for the maintenance of peace and due subordination amongst them;

and it is expedient that effect should be given to such reasonable demands of the said Chinese government; now, therefore, in pursuance of the said act, and in execution of the powers thereby in his Majesty in Council in that behalf vested, it is hereby ordered by his Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, that all the powers and authorities which, on the twenty-first day of April one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, shall by law be vested in the supracargoes of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East-Indies, over and in respect of the trade and commerce of his Majesty's subjects at the port of Canton, shall be, and the same are hereby vested in the superintendents for the time being appointed under and by virtue of the said Act of Parliament; and that all regulations which on the said twenty-first day of April one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four shall be in force touching the said trade and commerce, save so far as the same are repealed or abrogated by the said Act of Parliament, or by any commission and instructions, or Orders in Council, issued or made by his Majesty in pursuance thereof, or are inconsistent therewith, shall continue in full force and virtue; and that all such penalties, forfeitures, or imprisonments as might, on the said twenty-first day of April one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, be incurred or enforced for the breach of such then existing regulations, shall thenceforth be, in like manner, incurred and enforced for the breach of the same regulations, so far as the same are hereby revived and continued in force as aforesaid; and that all such penalties, forfeitures, or imprisonments, when so incurred, shall be enforced in manner following, that is to say, either by such ways and means by which the same might, on the said twenty-first of April one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, have been lawfully enforced, or by the sentence and adjudication of the court of justice

established at Canton aforesaid, under and in pursuance of the said Act of Parliament:

Provided also, and it is further declared, that the regulations herein contained are and shall be considered as provisional only, and as intended to continue in force only until his Majesty shall be pleased to make such further or other order in the premises, in pursuance of the said Act of Parliament, as to his Majesty, with the advice of his Privy Council, may hereafter seem salutary or expedient, in reference to such further information and experience as may hereafter be derived from the future course of the said trade:

And it is hereby further ordered, that the said superintendents shall compile and publish, for the information of all whom it may concern, the several regulations hereby established and confirmed as aforesaid; and that such publication, when so made with the authority of the said superintendents, shall, for all purposes, be deemed and taken to be legal and conclusive evidence of the existence and of the terms of any such regulation:

And it is further ordered, that the said superintendent shall, on the arrival of any British ship or vessel at the port of Canton aforesaid, cause to be delivered to the master, commander, or other principal officer of such ship or vessel, a copy of such regulations; and that every such master, commander, or other officer, together with every other person arriving in or being on board any such ship, shall be bound, and is hereby required, to conform himself to such regulations:

And the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, is to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

C. C. Greville.

At the Court at Brighton, the 9th day of December 1833,

PRESENT,

The KING'S Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

WHEREAS by a certain act of parliament, made and passed in the third and fourth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled "An Act to regulate the trade to China and India," it is, amongst other things, enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, by any such order or orders as to his Majesty in Council shall appear expedient and salutary, to create a court of justice, with Criminal and Admiralty jurisdiction, for the trial of offences committed by his Majesty's subjects within the dominions of the Emperor of China, and the ports and havens thereof, and on the high seas within one hundred miles of the coast of China, and to appoint one of the superintendents in the said act mentioned to be the officer to hold such court, and other officers for executing the process thereof; now, therefore, in pursuance of the said act, and in execution of the powers thereby in his Majesty in Council in that behalf vested, it is hereby ordered by his Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, that there shall be a court of justice, with Criminal and Admiralty jurisdiction, for the purposes aforesaid, which court shall be holden at Canton, in the said dominions, or on board any British ship or vessel in the port or harbour of Canton, and that the said court shall be holden by the Chief Superintendent for the time being, appointed, or to be appointed, by his Majesty under and in pursuance of the said act of Parliament:

And it is further ordered, that the practice and proceedings of the said Court upon the trial of all issues of fact or law to be joined upon any indictments or informations to be therein brought or prosecuted, shall be conformable to and correspond with the practice and proceedings of the courts of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol delivery in England, upon

the trial of such issues in such courts, so far as it may be practicable to maintain such conformity and correspondence, regard being had to the difference of local circumstances; and especially it is hereby ordered, that every such trial of any such issue of fact, or of mixed fact and law, shall be by the said Chief Superintendent for the time being and a jury of twelve men, and that upon every such trial the examination of witnesses for and against the party or parties charged shall take place *vivâ voce* in open court; and that the sentence or judgment of the said court upon every such trial, founded upon the verdict of such jury, shall be pronounced in open court by such Chief Superintendent, as the presiding judge thereof.

And whereas it will be necessary to frame and prescribe rules of practice and proceeding to be observed upon all such prosecutions, in order to ascertain how far the same can be brought into conformity with the practice and proceeding of his Majesty's courts of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol delivery in England, and how far it may be necessary to deviate from such practice and proceeding by reason of the differences of local circumstances; it is, therefore, further ordered, that such Chief Superintendent for the time being shall be, and he is hereby authorised from time to time, but subject to the provisions aforesaid, to promulgate all such rules of practice and proceeding as it may be necessary to adopt and follow, upon, or previously to, the commitment of any person to take his trial in the said court, and respecting the taking of bail for the appearance of any such person at such trial, and respecting the form and manner of preferring and finding indictments, and of exhibiting criminal informations against any persons charged with any crimes or offences before the said court: and respecting the manner of summoning and convening jurors for the trial of such indictments on informations; and respecting qualifica-

tions of such jurors and the mode of summoning and compelling the attendance of witnesses; and respecting the process of the said court, and the mode of carrying the same into execution; and respecting the times and places of holding such courts, and the duties of the respective ministerial officers attending the same, whom he is hereby authorized to appoint provisionally, subject to his Majesty's approbation; and also respecting every other matter and thing connected with the administration of justice therein which it may be found necessary to regulate.

And it is further ordered, that all rules so to be promulgated as aforesaid shall be binding and take effect from the respective days of the dates thereof, but that the same shall, by such Chief Superintendent, be transmitted to one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, for his Majesty's approbation or disallowance, and that any such rule shall cease to be binding, or to have any force or effect, from and after the time of which his Majesty's disallowance thereof shall be made known to such Chief Superintendent for the time being:

And it is further ordered, that a record shall be duly made and preserved of all the proceedings, judgments, and sentences of the said court, which record shall be retained in the custody of an officer of the said court, to be by the Chief Superintendent specially charged with the performance of that duty:

And the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, is to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

C. C. GREVILLE.

At the Court at Brighton, the 9th day of December 1833,

PRESENT,

The KING's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

WHEREAS by a certain Act of Parliament, made and passed in the third and fourth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled "An Act to regulate the trade to China and India," it is, amongst other things, enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, by any such order or orders as to his Majesty in Council shall appear expedient and salutary, to give to the superintendents in the said Act mentioned, or any one of them, powers and authorities over and in respect of the trade and commerce of his Majesty's subjects within any part of the dominions of the Emperor of China; and to make and issue directions and regulations touching the said trade and commerce, and for the government of his Majesty's subjects within the said dominions:

And it is thereby further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, by any order or orders to be issued from time to time, to impose and to empower such persons as his Majesty in Council shall think fit, to collect and levy from or on account of any ship or vessel belonging to any of the subjects of his Majesty entering any port or place where the said superintendents, or any of them, shall be stationed, such duty on tonnage and goods as shall from to time be specified in such order or orders, not exceeding in respect of tonnage, the sum of five shillings for every ton, and not exceeding in respect of goods, the sum of ten shillings for every one hundred pounds of the value of the same:

And it is thereby enacted, that the fund arising from the collection of such duties, shall be appropriated in such manner as his Majesty in Council shall direct towards defraying the expense of the establishments, by the said Act

authorized, within the said dominions; now, therefore, in pursuance of the said Act, and in execution of the powers thereby in his Majesty in Council in that behalf vested, it is hereby ordered by his Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, that it shall be lawful for the superintendents, appointed by virtue of the said Act of Parliament, for the time being, and for any person or persons duly authorized by them respectively, to recover and receive from all masters or other chief officers, or commanders, of all ships and vessels belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects which may enter the port of Canton, or may be trading at that port, the sum or sums of money following, that is to say, in respect to tonnage the sum of two shillings for every ton as per register of such ships and vessels, and so in proportion for any fractional part of a ton; and in respect of goods imported and exported, except bullion, at and after the rate of seven shillings for every one hundred pounds of the value of the same:

And it is further ordered, that the value of the goods composing the inward cargoes of such ships or vessels shall be fixed by the current market prices of such goods at Canton aforesaid, exclusive of the import duty, and that the value of the goods composing the outward cargoes of such ships or vessels shall be estimated by the current market prices at Canton aforesaid, of the articles composing the same at the period of shipment, exclusive of the export duties.

And it is further ordered, that if any difference of opinion should arise as to the market prices aforesaid, the same shall be determined and fixed by two indifferent British merchants or subjects residing at the place, one to be chosen and appointed by the said superintendents, or by the person or persons authorized by them respectively, and the other by the master of the vessel, or by the consignee or

shipper of the cargo, which two persons previously to their entering into the consideration of the subject referred to them, shall appoint a third person, being also a British merchant or subject, residing at the place, to be the umpire in the event of their disagreeing upon the point referred to them; and in case the two persons so chosen shall not agree and award the same within seven days after such appointment, then such third person, so previously chosen and appointed, shall decide and determine the said current market price within the space of three days after the expiration of the seven days, unless it shall be otherwise mutually agreed upon between the said superintendents or person or persons authorized by them respectively, and the consignee or shipper of the cargo, and such sum shall be paid in either case as shall be agreeable to this order.

And it is further ordered, that all masters, commanders, or other chief officers of all British ships and vessels trading to or from the port of Canton aforesaid, and unloading or delivering the ship or vessel, or any of the cargo there, shall within forty-eight hours after the arrival of such ship or vessel, deliver to the said superintendents, or to the person or persons authorised by them for that purpose respectively, a true manifest in writing, upon oath, specifying the particulars of the whole cargo of such ship or vessel, so to be unloaded or delivered, or of such part thereof as shall be unloaded or delivered there, and to whom consigned; and likewise twenty-four hours before the said masters, commanders, or other chief officers, require the outward clearances or passports for their said ships or vessels, they shall deliver to the said superintendents, or to the person or persons authorized by them for that purpose respectively, a true manifest in writing, upon oath, specifying the particulars of the whole cargo of such ship or vessel laden there, or of such part thereof as shall have been laden or received

on board such ship or vessel in the said port of Canton, which oaths the said superintendents, or person or persons authorised by them respectively, are and is hereby empowered and required to administer gratis upon request:

And it is further ordered, that all bills of lading of such ships or vessels shall specify to pay the said monies accordingly under the denomination of "Contribution as by China Trade Act, and the Order in Council thereupon issued;" and the persons paying the same shall be reimbursed by the persons to whom the said goods shall be consigned, or who shall receive the same, or by their respective freighters; and in case the master or commander of such ship or vessel shall neglect to specify the payment of the said monies in the bill or bills of lading, as aforesaid, he shall be answerable for the same:

And it is further ordered, that for the better securing and collecting the payment of the said monies herein directed to be levied for the purposes aforesaid, the said superintendents, or the person or persons authorised by them, shall, and they are hereby respectively authorised and required, to detain the clearances outward and all other papers of all such British ships or vessels as aforesaid, and not to give or deliver any dispatch or passport for any such ship or vessel until payment be made as required:

And it is hereby further ordered, that no such British ship shall be admitted to entry at any port in any part of his Majesty's dominions unless the master shall produce to the proper officer of the customs, or other proper officer, the said clearances so to be given on departure from the port of Canton, or from any other port at which such duties as aforesaid ought to have been paid:

And it is further ordered, that all monies to be raised or received by the authority of the said act, and of this present order, shall be appropriated towards defraying the

expenses of the said superintendents and of their establishment, and of the officers subordinate to them at Canton:

And the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, and the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, are to give the necessary directions herein as may to them respectively appertain.

C. C. GREVILLE.

THE END.

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